TRAVELS

THROUGH

GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, ITALY

AND

SICILY.

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TRAVELS

THROUGH

GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, ITALY,
and SICILY.

F. A. Carroll.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

OF

FREDERIC LEOPOLD COUNT STOLBERG,

BY THOMAS HOLCROFT.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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TRAVELS

OF

COUNT STOLBERG.

LETTER XCI.

Syracuſe, 25th June 1792.

MY intention was to have travelled from Girgenti to *Caſtro Giovanni;* the *Enna* of the ancients, famous for its grove, its blooming fields, and the fable of the rape of Proſerpine: carried off by Pluto while ſhe was gathering flowers. From thence, I ſhould have ridden through the country to Syracuſe: but we learned that the air of *Caſtro Giovanni* is bad, at this ſeaſon of the year; and therefore determined to ſtop on the coaſt, at *Terranova.*

On the morning of the 21ſt, we journeyed

through barren fields to Palma; and, about nine o'clock in the forenoon, as we entered this handſome little town, the beams of the ſun were glowing hot. Near the walls, the country is well watered, and rich in vegetation. The almond trees, which are in great numbers, grow to a conſiderable ſize; and the St. John's bread likewiſe is very large, and has a conſpicuous and beautiful appearance. Its ſtrong ſcions ſpring round it near the root, bend back again to the earth, and there take root themſelves; ſo that a ſingle tree, with its branching family, appears a little grove.

A letter of recommendation, from the friendly Canon Spoto, gained us acceſs to a ſpacious palace in Palma; where we ſlept during the heat of the day. Warm as theſe ſouthern climates are, you generally find pleaſant and cool retreats in the houſes. The ſtrong walls repel the heat, and the apartments are very lofty. You ſeldom ſuffer much from the heat during the day, while under the roof; but rather in the evening, after having been into the open air, and when the walls have been warmed through. It is remarkable that the heat of the night will frequently not ſuffer you to ſleep: yet that the greater heat of the day

day makes you ſleepy. The ſame indeed, in a certain degree, may be ſaid of Germany: although the morning and evening dew there falls much more copiouſly than in theſe countries; where the delightful dew-air, which is ſo great a reſtorative, cannot always be enjoyed, and never in the ſame abundance as in our country. The flies here are very teaſing, by day; and ſilk gauze, thrown over the face, is quite neceſſary for the traveller who wiſhes to ſleep.

Palma belongs to the Prince of Lampeduſa; and, in the year 1779, contained little more than five thouſand inhabitants: though its preſent population is eſtimated at nine thouſand; which increaſe may be attributed to a rich ſulphur mine. This town was firſt built in the year 1637, by a perſon of the family of *Chiavo Monte*.

Not far from Palma white partridges are found, on a hill near the ſea, which have remained there from twelve to fifteen years: though the place they came from is not known. They frequently couple with other partridges; and the young brood then conſiſts of both kinds. The common partridge of the iſland is grey, with white ſpots, and fleſh

of a high red colour on the beak. They have a reſemblance to the Guinea hen.

We rode to Alicata, in the afternoon; near which town is a charming long hill, the ſouth ſide of which wards off the heat. It is embelliſhed with country houſes and verdant orchards, and watered by rich ſprings; which likewiſe refreſh the neighbouring country, where they ariſe through ſubterranean paſſages.

People in Germany have falſe ideas concerning the ſummer dryneſs of vegetation in hot countries. In open unſhaded and ſcantily watered paſtures, I grant that the graſs above the ſurface is parched; and that, during the hot months, on ſuch the cows eat what may more properly be called hay than graſs: but the herds of cattle are then paſtured on the mountains, where the graſs remains freſh; and the meadows which are then burnt up afford them freſh fodder in the winter. Accuſtomed to this air, and taking root in a very fruitful ſoil, the trees are clothed in a lovely green; and both hills and valleys, if nature do but favour them with water, afford a rich vegetation of herbage and foliage: of the poliſhed verdure of which we northern people can form

form no idea. Several of the African plants of our hot houſes have this colour, this fulneſs, and this poliſh.

Alicata, *Licata*, or *Leocata*, is a pleaſant town; built partly upon a hill, and partly below it, on the ſea ſide. A fortreſs is erected on a ſmall cape, adjoining to the town, that extends into the ſea. At preſent the hill, taking its name from the town, is called *Monte di Licata* *. Cluverius imagined it to be the *Ecnomos* of the ancients.

The number of inhabitants in Alicata, was eſtimated, by Amico, at 10,960. He is an authentic writer, but, during the laſt thirty years, the numbers in moſt of the royal towns have decreaſed, in conſequence of various oppreſſions, much to the advantage of the baronial towns. Though the inhabitants, particularly the leſſer nobility, juſtly complain of the Barons, yet they are leſs oppreſſed by them than when immediately under the government of the King: for, as the road is always open to complaint, and as by government the reſpect for the rights of the Barons is more willingly diminiſhed than increaſed,

* Lex. Top. Sic.

the latter are obliged to exercise great precaution when they assert these rights.

Alicata was taken and burned, in the year 1553, by the Turks; and their allies, the French *.

This town stands where *Phintia* formerly stood: a place which was founded by the Agrigentine tyrant, *Phintias;* a contemporary of Pyrrhus. It was to this place that he brought the inhabitants of Gela, 282 years before Christ, after he had destroyed that mother town of Agrigentum.

On the 22d of June, we rode all the fore part of the day; till, about eleven o'clock, we arrived at Terranova. Near Alicata, we crossed the mouth of the river *Fiume Salso;* the largest stream in the island, and formerly called the *Himeras*. It divides the *Val di Mazzara* from the *Val di Noto*, in which we now are. The heat became very great as the morning advanced. The debilitating scirocco blew; and the very sea appears unwillingly to feel its influence. Though it is attended with very little current of air, yet, when it prevails, the waves of the sea foam and roar,

* Fazello.

and

and it ſeems as if its influence was more ſtrongly felt in this element than in the lighter air. It brings humidity: the clothes adhere to the body at its touch, the marrow ſeems melted in the bones, and ſpleen and melancholy afflict the heart. Cold bathing and cooling beverage, with fruit, or a draught of generous wine, and ſtill more effectually ice and repoſe, are the remedies by which it may be reſiſted.

The founders both of ancient and of modern towns naturally choſe the countries that were well watered; and Terranova enjoys the bleſſings which freſh vegetation and excellent fruits afford.

Here ſtood the ancient Gela *, to which a colony was led by Antiphemus from Rhodes, and Entimus from Crete; who joined in community forty-five years after the founding of Syracuſe, in the firſt year of the 23d Olympiad, 686 years before Chriſt. It was built near the river *Gelas*, from which the town took its name. An ancient Greek ſcholiaſt, upon Pindar, calls the river *Gelon;* and it is now called by the modern name of the town,

* Thuc. l. vi. p. 386.

Terranova. Not far from Terranova, on the ſouth-weſt ſhore, a Doric pillar lies thrown down: a ſolitary token of the former grandeur of Gela.

The territory of Gela was extenſive, and the place itſelf large. It was called ἄστυ, by the poet Callimachus: a word which is only uſed to denote great cities. It is likewiſe called, by Virgil, *Immanis Gela* *. Another interpretation of the word *immanis* derives it from the tyrants, who ſome of them governed and others were natives of Gela. I grant that *immanis* is generally uſed to expreſs a cruel and ſavage nature: but the circumſtance that Gela was governed by tyrants did not diſtinguiſh it from other towns in Sicily. Gelo, Hiero the Firſt, and Thraſybulus, three ſons of Dinomenes, who ſucceſſively governed Syracuſe, were natives of Gela. Gelo, one of the greateſt and beſt men of Grecian times, ruled becauſe he was reſpected; not becauſe he was powerful. The character of Hiero was more equivocal; though he was praiſed

* In ſight of the Geloan fields we paſs;
And the large walls, where mighty Gela was.
DRYDEN: Æn. iii. l. 922.

by

by Pindar and Simonides, both great poets. Thraſybulus, in every ſenſe of the word, was a tyrant.

The great tragic poet, Æſchylus, ſpent the remainder of his old age in Gela; after he had quitted Athens in diſguſt. One day, while he was ſleeping, an eagle that was bearing a tortoiſe, wiſhing to break its hard ſhell, let it fall upon the bare ſkull of the poet; miſtaking it for a ſtone: and thus died Æſchylus. Pauſanias *, a philoſopher and phyſician, the friend and diſciple of Empedocles, and Timogenes the philoſopher, the diſciple of Theophraſtus, were both of Gela.

In the fourth year of the 93d Olympiad, 403 years before Chriſt, Himilco, the general of the Carthaginians, after he had deſtroyed Agrigentum, fell with his whole army on the territories of Gela and Camarina. From the banks of the Gelas, near the city Gela, he took a coloſſal ſtatue of Apollo, and ſent it to Tyrus: the mother city of Carthage: and, when Alexander beſieged Tyrus, the citizens accuſed this ſtatue of favouring the enemy. The Carthaginian fortified his camp; expecting that Dionyſius, who by power and arti-

* Not Pauſanias the writer.

fice

fice had lately obtained the ſovereignty of Syracuſe, would march againſt him with a great army. The Gelenſes determined to ſend their wives and children to Syracuſe; but the women fled to the altars, and ſo preſſingly entreated the men to ſuffer them to ſhare in the dangers of war that they were permitted to remain.

The Gelenſes frequently ſallied on the foe; and, profiting by their knowledge of the country, killed and took many of the Carthaginians. They fought valiantly; though their walls began to be ſhattered, and breaches were made by the deſtructive battering rams: but what the day deſtroyed the night repaired; and women and children laboured at the work, while the men remained under arms. Their defence was truly undaunted; though their city was not very ſtrong, their walls were in ruins, and no allies were come to their aid.

At length, Dionyſius arrived with a mixed army; from Syracuſe, the allied Grecians of Italy and Sicily, and ſoldiers that he had taken into pay: but he was defeated, in a battle againſt the Carthaginians, was conſtrained to ſend the citizens of Gela away by night to Syracuſe,

Syracuſe, and the enemy took poſſeſſion of the place *.

The inhabitants of Gela were ſent from Syracuſe to Leontium; but they muſt ſoon after have returned to their native place, for Gela took part with Dion againſt the younger Dionyſius †.

In the ſecond year of the 117th Olympiad, 309 years before the birth of Chriſt, Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuſe, accuſed the Gelenſes of taking part with the Carthaginians, put more than four thouſand citizens to death, and obliged the reſt to give him all the coined and uncoined gold and ſilver ‡.

Gela was deſtroyed by Phintias, the tyrant of Agrigentum, 282 years before Chriſt, in the firſt year of the 124th Olympiad.

The modern town, *Terranova*, was founded about the middle of the thirteenth century, by the Emperor Frederic the Second. The number of the inhabitants thirty years ago was eſtimated at 7076, by Amico §. It is

* Diod. l. xiii. vol. i. p. 630.

† Diod. l. xiv. vol. ii. p. 89.

‡ Diod. l. xix. vol. ii. p. 400.

§ Lex. Top. Sic.

a baronial

a baronial town, and belongs to the Duke of Monteleone.

On the 23d, we paſſed the river *Terranova*, the ancient *Gelas;* leaving the ſea behind us on the right, and paſſing through the country of the Gelenſes: the fertility of which has in all ages been ſo famous. I never beheld ſtronger ſtubble; and, where the corn was not yet cut, although on fields which had ſuffered this year for the want of rain, the crops even there could ſcarcely be called moderate.

We arrived at the little town of *Santa Maria di Niſcemi*, which is built on a hill, before the morning ſun became too powerful. As we appeared to be in a wretched inn, we were looking round for a cloiſter, when a well-dreſſed perſon deſired us to follow him, in a friendly manner, and took us to the houſe of his ſon; who was the *Scrivano* of the town. As ſoon as we had alighted, a number of people had collected round us, and our chamber was preſently full of inquiſitive babblers; who all came, as they ſaid, *per dimoſtrar una piccola attenzione a gli ſignori foreſtieri:* to ſhew a little attention to the foreign gentlemen:

men: but in reality to gratify their own inſatiable curioſity.

Among them, there was an old prieſt; of whoſe company, like the reſt, we began to be impatient: but of which we were afterward much aſhamed. After many queſtions concerning our travels, and giving us friendly council, he departed; but ſoon returned with letters of recommendation: and, not ſatisfied with that, gave our muleteer an Italian cock to be eaten by us on the road.

In the afternoon, we ſaw many large cork trees; and in the evening arrived at *Caltagirone*. This place, which contains more than ſeventeen thouſand inhabitants, by paying a voluntary gift to the King, is almoſt freed from taxes; and is endowed with commercial privileges, greater than thoſe of any other town. A colonnade, rather grand than beautiful, which the citizens have built on a height to enjoy the open air, and a ſpacious high road, in the continuation of which they are now employed, denote the activity of the inhabitants; who feel their growing power. The town is built on a hill, and its origin is doubtful; though it certainly exiſted in the times of the Saracens, and probably more

early: as the height and the ſurrounding lands muſt at all times have given delight.

Yeſterday, ſoon after we had left *Caltagirone*, we beheld Ætna; towering behind the intervening mountains. The road brought us through fertile and well cultivated countries; and we again ſaw hills that were ſhaded with trees.

We left the little town of *Minoe* on a hill, lying on our right. It was formerly inhabited by the Siculi, called *Menai* *, and was the birth-place of the famous *Ducetius*; the leader or King of the Siculi; who, in the fourth year of the 81ſt Olympiad, 450 years before Chriſt, tranſported the inhabitants to the plains near the temple of the *Palici*: from which the new town was called *Palica*.

Theſe Gods were ſuppoſed to be the twin ſons of Zeus and the Nymph Ætna: or, according to others, Thalia. Their temple was famed for its antiquity, and the ſacred terror it inſpired. We are told, by Diodorus, it had hot and apparently glowing ſprings; which roſe from boiling gulphs, out of craters of no great circumference, but of immeaſurable

* I agree with Cluverius, and read Μεναι in Diodorus: inſtead of the common reading, Νεαι.

depth.

depth. The ſtench of the ſulphur is ſo great that no one has ever yet entirely been at the place. The deep bubbling water roars fearfully; but never overflows, or fails.

Here the moſt ſolemn oaths were ſworn; and Diodorus affirms that perjury was followed by immediate puniſhment. The oath put an end to the moſt intricate diſputes. Even ſlaves found refuge here againſt their cruel and angry maſters; who durſt not forcibly take them away, but were obliged to give them the ſecurity of the oath: nor was there an example known, ſays Diodorus, of a maſter who did not keep this oath.

The temple was built in a commanding ſituation: and was embelliſhed with colonnades, and other pleaſing objects *.

After

* According to the fable, the Nymph Ætna, or Thalia, for ſo Macrobius calls her, being pregnant by Jupiter and fearful of the wrath of Juno, wiſhed that the earth might open. Her wiſh was accompliſhed; and, when ſhe was delivered of the twins, they were called *Palici*: from the words παλιν and ἰενμι: *again* and *to go*: becauſe they came back out of the earth. According to others, they were the ſame who became ſo famous under the names of Caſtor and Pollux. They were called Palici; becauſe they alternately lived one month in Olympus and the next in the infernal regions: from which they continually returned

After Ducetius had built *Palica* and had ſurrounded it with good walls, he divided the territorial lands among the citizens; and the excellence of the ſoil and the number of the inhabitants ſoon rendered it a reſpectable place. But the proſperity of *Palica* was of ſhort duration, for it was quickly deſtroyed *.

We were prevented from viſiting theſe bubbling ſprings, both by the badneſs of the air round them and the length of our day's journey. A living Sicilian author ſays—"The lake of *Palici* is ſtill full of ſulphu-"rous and highly inſalubrious water: ſo that "to remain near it is dangerous both to man "and beaſt. Its breadth is about a hundred "paces."

turned, from the time that the immortal Pollux obtained permiſſion of Zeus to ſhare his immortality with the mortal Caſtor, who had ſlain Lynceus and was afterward killed by Idas. Inſtead of *pingais ubi et placabilis ara Dianæ* (Virg. Æn. vii. 763) ſome read *Palici*: and Servius ſays that men were firſt ſacrificed to theſe Gods, but that they then accepted other ſacrifices in expiation: therefore Virgil calls the altar *placabilis*: or placable. I muſt further remark of the ſons of Leda that, according to ſome, it was Pollux, but according to others Caſtor, who was immortal.

* Diod. lib. xi. vol. i. p. 471.

About

About ten in the forenoon, we arrived at the little town of Palagonia; which is built on a height and overlooks a charming vale. This ſituation and this name lead me to think it highly probable that the temple ſtood in the valley. The town is the native place of the Princes of Palagonia; one of whom built the groteſque palace, between Solanto and Palermo, which I have already deſcribed.

In the afternoon, over a fruitful country, we beheld Mount Ætna in its whole extent. We left the lake *Beveria* on our left; which abounds in fiſh, particularly eels, and birds. The river *Leonardo* flows through it; which the ancients called the *Liſſus;* and, ſoon after it has left the lake, it paſſes by *Lentini:* but, as it frequently overflows, it renders the air of that town very unhealthy. We contemplated the fertile fields which, according to the accounts of the ancients, excited ſurpriſe in Hercules*; and they ſtill ſupport the fame they formerly obtained.

During the whole day, we had ſeen ſmoke aſcend not only out of the upper mouth of Ætna but likewiſe from a lower part; where, ſome months ago, a new aperture burſt forth.

* Diod. lib. iv. vol. i. p. 270.

When it was dark, we ſaw the red ſtream of lava.

You cannot but admire our good fortune, at not only having viſited Veſuvius during its eruption but Ætna, likewiſe, at a time when it aſſumed every beauty, and was clothed in all its fertility.

We had a letter from the beautiful young Princeſs Leonforte, of Palermo, which gained us admiſſion to a convenient houſe in the upper part of the town of Lentini; where the air is leſs unhealthy. This place contains rather more than four thouſand inhabitants, and lies at the foot of a height; at the top of which Charles the Fifth built a new town, that he might allure the inhabitants to change their bad air for a better. He called this town *Carlentini*, and it contains nearly three thouſand people.

Lentini is a ſmall remainder of the formerly flouriſhing and mighty Leontium: on which, in the firſt year of the 13th Olympiad, 726 years before Chriſt, the *Chalcidenſes*, from *Eubœa*, who ſix years before had founded the Sicilian Naxos, had made a deſcent; under the conduct of the fame Theocles whom they had followed from Greece; and ſettled here,

after they had driven out the Siculi, who were the former inhabitants of Leontium*.

The ſame fate attended the Leontini as befel the other Greek colonies of Sicily: who were frequently oppreſſed by tyrants, and as frequently recovered their freedom. Phalaris, the tyrant of Agrigentum, one of theſe oppreſſors, took away their arms; and, with the policy of deſpotiſm, introduced luxury: ſo that to ſay "The Leontini are always at their bottle" became proverbial.

Leontium was the cauſe of the firſt attack made upon Syracuſe by the Athenians. The Leontini were then at war with the Syracuſians; and all the towns of Doric origin, except Camarina, took part with the latter: and with the former the Camarini, and all the towns that derived their origin from the Chalcidenſes. The arrogant power of the Syracuſians oppreſſed the Leontini; who ſent ambaſſadors to Athens demanding aſſiſtance. One of theſe ambaſſadors was the famous philoſopher, and orator, Gorgias; who exceeded his contemporaries in the reputation of eloquence: though his oratory chiefly conſiſted in ſtudied artifice, antitheſis, and the tricks of

* Thuc. lib. vi. p. 379.

rhetoric; unlike the high and irreſiſtible eloquence of Pericles, which extorted praiſe even from the comic poets. Ariſtophanes ſays of him — "The Olympic Pericles ſpeaks in "thunder and lightning; and confounds all "Greece." And Eupolis, of whom we have ſome fragments, declares, "Conviction ſat "upon his lips: it was faſcination to hear "him: and he alone, of all the orators, left "a ſting in the ear *."

But the Greeks, particularly the Athenians, were inſatiate in their love of novelty; and Gorgias kept a ſchool of rhetoric, and received from his diſciples a hundred *minæ*, or about two thouſand ſix dollars. Depravity of manners and depravity of taſte go hand in hand.

* Diodorus attributes theſe verſes all to Eupolis; after he had cited others from Ariſtophanes: but, as the two firſt of theſe verſes are generally aſcribed to Ariſtophanes, we ſhould thus, with Weſſeling, read the text of Diodorus:

Καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλοις (i. e. λεγει Ἀριστοφάνης)

——— Περικλέης ὁ Ὀλυμπιος
Ἤγραπτεν, ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

Εὔπολις δὲ ὁ ποιητής·

Πειθώ τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χείλεσιν.
Οὕτως ἐκέλει καὶ, μονος τῶν ῥητόρων,
Τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατελειπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.

The

The beautiful is allied to the beautiful; and deformity to its like.

Gorgias eaſily perſuaded the Athenians to take part in this war; for they had long deſired to poſſeſs Sicily, and ſeized this pretext of the oppreſſed Leontini; to whom, as a people related to themſelves, they owed aſſiſtance: for the inhabitants of the towns of Chalcidenſian origin were, like the Athenians, deſcended from the Ionians. Accordingly the Athenians declared for war: but this war was tedious, and the Leontini at laſt made peace with Syracuſe; of which city they obtained the freedom, were tranſported thither, the Syracuſians took poſſeſſion of Leontium, and the Athenians ſailed back to Greece*.

Thus expelled from their native city by the Syracuſians, the Leontini endeavoured to recover what they had loſt; and, in the firſt year of the 91ſt Olympiad, 414 years before the birth of Chriſt, in concert with the Aceſtæi, who were at war with the Selinuntii, they induced Athens to make a ſecond attempt upon Sicily, eleven years after their firſt effort, and in the 16th year of the Peloponneſian

* Thuc. l. iii. p. 220, and Diod. l. xii. vol. i. p. 513.

war. On this occaſion the Athenians were uncommonly ſanguine; and determined, before they began, to ſell all the Syracuſians and Selinuntii as ſlaves, and to impoſe an annual tribute on the remaining people of the iſland.

In the third year of the 93d Olympiad, 403 years before Chriſt, while they were ſtill at war with the Athenians, the Syracuſians tranſplanted the Agrigentini, whoſe city the Carthaginians had deſtroyed, to Leontium.

In the ſame year, Dionyſius employed the people of Leontium to ſecure himſelf in the tyranny of Syracuſe. Afterward however Leontium became the place in which the deliverers of Syracuſe, Dion, and Timoleon, began their enterpriſe againſt the tyrants; and here Icetas, the tyrant of that city, fell under the power of Timoleon *.

On each ſide of Lentini many caverns, cut in the rocks, are ſeen. Perhaps they ſerved the Siculi, or probably the more early Læſtrigons and Cyclops, as habitations: for I am of opinion that the fabulous account of the Cyclops had ſome foundation in truth; and

* Plut. Life of Tim.

that

that the ſavage ſtate of theſe people gave riſe to the poetical fiction, that they were monſters.

Early in the forenoon, we rode along the banks of the river *Cantara* *; which the ancients called the *Alabis*, *Alabo*, or *Alabus*. According to Bochart, *Halava*, in the Phœnician language, ſignified ſweetneſs; and he conjectured that the river was thus named by the Phœnicians, becauſe excellent honey was produced on its banks. It ſometimes meanders between high rocks, and through pleaſant valleys; and indeed the whole country is vigorous in vegetation, and highly fertile. We ſaw fine herds of cattle; which, in this iſland, are without exception red, have prodigious horns, are ſhort, ſtrong, and numerous, and are only diſtinguiſhable by their colour from the white cattle of Apulia.

We reſted in the middle of the day at *Fondaco del Fico;* the name of which will remind you of our pleaſant reſting place in Calabria, between Catanzaro and Monteleone, where we halted at noon. Like that of Calabria, the *Fondaco del Fico* of Sicily is delightful; eſpecially becauſe of its umbrage

* Lex. Top. Sic.

among which the tall mulberry predominates, and which at preſent affords ſomething beſide its cooling ſhade.

Dearth and uncleanlineſs prevailed in the inn: but the branching foliage of a large fig tree gave ſweetneſs to our mid-day repaſt; and its ruſtling would have invited to ſleep, had we not been obliged to reach Syracuſe.

In the afternoon, we rode over the places where formerly the leſſer *Hybla* and *Megara* ſtood. This place conſiſts of flat rocks; and here we ſaw ſome remains of hewn ſtones, which no doubt had been a burial place of Megara.

About the time that the Chalcidenſes made a deſcent on Leontium, *Lamis* led a colony from *Megara* in Greece to the river *Pantagias*, and founded *Trotilum;* which lay eaſtward of Leontium, on the ſea ſide. Lamis governed Leontium, and the Chalcidenſes; but was driven away by the Leontini, founded *Tapſus*, and died. His countrymen were expelled from Tapſus by *Hyblo,* a King of the Siculi, and built the *Hyblæan Megara.* After having poſſeſſed this place two hundred and forty-five years, they were driven from their town and its territory by Gelo, the ruler of Syracuſe.

A hundred

A hundred years after the building of Megara theſe people, under one of their leaders named Pamilos, founded Selinus *.

Except the honey of *Hymettus*, a mountain of *Attica*, the honey of Hybla was eſteemed above all others, by the ancients. This honey ſtill maintains its excellence: nor can leſs be expected, from the large ſtrongly aromatic thyme which grows here, on the hot rocky beds of earth.

The ancient *Thapſos*, which the Romans, omitting the letter *h*, called *Tapſus*, was built on a ſmall peninſula of the ſame name which we ſaw at no great diſtance, and is now called *Iſola de gli Manghiſi*.

The aſpect of Syracuſe reſembles that of Taranto; for it is ſituated between a great and a little ſea: as we may venture to call its haven a bay. This aſpect even ſtill has ſomething grand in it: although the preſent town, limited to the iſland, probably contains only the twentieth part, and ſcarcely that, of the ancient Syracuſe.

How many elevated ideas did this aſpect excite in the ſoul! This was the city which alone, of all the towns of Greece, dared to vie

* Thuc. l. vi. p. 380.

with

with Athens. Centuries riſe to view, and ſtrange and innumerable events; till the eye, become giddy by the multitudinous objects, ſeeks repoſe by calling the heroes of times long paſſed once more to remembrance, and forcing them to leave their ſilent abodes.

Gelo muſt not be numbered among tyrants: he governed in wiſdom, and was one of the greateſt Greeks that hiſtory records.

Hermocrates was an enlightened citizen, a great captain, and a humane conqueror. He enjoyed thoſe honours, and was crowned with thoſe garlands, which none but the great and good men of a free ſtate can beſtow: but he was obliged to drink the very lees of ingratitude; which, when preſented by the hands of free citizens, are bitter in the extreme *.

Related to tyrants, Dion fought for freedom. The virtues of the active ſtateſman flouriſhed in the retreats of philoſophy. Mild wiſdom became his guide, accompanied him amid the tumult of popular clamour, preſerved him in the ſanguinary field, and guarded him againſt the poiſon of a court.

* He oppoſed Nicias, the leader of Athens, was baniſhed for his lenity to the Athenian priſoners, and was murdered on his return from exile. T.

The

The viſit of a man like Plato reflects honour on the city viſited; and freedom and fame reſulted from the preſence of the great Timoleon, who purified Sicily from tyrants, as Hercules purified the earth from monſters. His mild influence was that of the deliverer among the delivered: an equal with equals: as ſuch, he ended a life of fame in Syracuſe, ſetting like the ſun in glory, and honoured after his death like a demi-god.

Archimedes, a relation of Hiero the Second, withdrew himſelf from the court, as Dion had formerly done; and, with all the enthuſiaſm of genius, devoted himſelf to thoſe ſevere delights which geometry affords.

He became the bulwark of Syracuſe, his native place; and the machines which he invented, when it was beſieged, were long its ſword and ſhield. Yet the aſtoniſhing efforts of his ſcience appeared to him but as ſports, acted for the gratification of Hiero, compared to the pure contemplation of abſtracted truths, in which he delighted; and which, to a mind like his, were unlimited *.

The man who at his birth is cradled by the

* Plut. Life of Marcellus.

Muſes,

Muſes, who, like Theocritus, devotes his days to the beautiful, exciting the ſympathies he feels, expanding the delights he diſcovers, and promulgating the ſentiments by which he is honoured, to him the admiration of the preſent is ſecured, and on him the praiſe and the love of futurity ſhall devolve. Lead ſinks: vapours aſcend. The moral world has its laws, like the phyſical; and that which once was the beautiful will eternally ſo remain.

Theocritus lived in the generation that ſucceeded to that of Alexander; and it appears as if the early decreaſe of heroes and a paſſion for the beautiful and the ſublime withdrew at the ſame period, from the empire of the Greeks; by whom the firſt had been ſo honoured, and the ſecond ſo wonderfully diffuſed.

Tutored however by nature herſelf, and by her darling Homer, the Sicilian poet eſcaped contamination, and remained true to his inſtructreſs; even in the court of a king: nay, of an Egyptian king. Sportive among ſhepherds, the Doric Muſe inſpired his ſimple lay; and, pretending only to win him a lamb from the fold, ſhe wove him an immortal wreath; which

which neither Bion of Smyrna, nor Moſchus, his own countryman *, though immortal like himſelf, could obtain; and of which the great Virgil, with his many-ſtringed paſtoral lyre, could not deprive him.

CONTINUATION OF LETTER XCI.

WHILE deſcribing the countries and towns through which I paſs, it does not appear to me ſuperfluous to give a paſſing glance at the deſtiny of their former inhabitants. Time and ſpace are allied. The diſtance of a deſcribed country increaſes the intereſt of the deſcription; and time elapſed claims from us a right of preference. To examine into this claim were needleſs: for who does not yield it willing obedience?

A ſage fable of the Greeks allegorically repreſented the ſoul of man under the image of Pſyche. Pſyche had wings: but they were bound. We know they were to be ſet free: but, in the interim, ſhe was frequently impatient, felt herſelf reſtrained, could not mount

* Sicily, that ſeat of paradiſe, has produced three paſtoral poets: Daphnis, the inventor of the Eclogue, Theocritus, and Moſchus. Bion likewiſe, though born at Smyrna, lived and wrote in Sicily.

at will, fluttered with her wings as well as ſhe was able, and approached the very precipice of time and ſpace.

How numerous and how great are the claims of theſe countries to the obſervation of man! His curioſity is raiſed and rewarded by theſe Heſperian fields! by nature in all her grandeur, and all her charms! Their hiſtory is remarkable for its antiquity, and ſtill more remarkable for the great revolutions of which they have been the theatre, and the mighty conteſts of human power, as well as for the effects which thoſe conteſts have to this day produced.

The events that have befallen Syracuſe not only abound in inſtruction, and entertainment, from their variety but likewiſe from their connection with the hiſtory of the world.

I have before mentioned what Diodorus tells us, that Gelo was compared to Themiſtocles; and that ſome affirm that the Greeks were in part indebted to him, for their triumph at Salamis: he having raiſed their courage by his victory near Himera, and taught them not to be terrified by a multitude of Barbarians *.

* Diod. lib. ix. vol. i. p. 421.

On

On the very day on which Gelo overcame the Carthaginians, the Spartans, a handful of heroes, fell at Thermopylæ! It would therefore be unjuſt to affirm that the Greeks needed the example of Gelo to excite them to victory, and freedom. But it may boldly be maintained that the battle of Himera influenced the fate of the iſland, and ſupported the manners and the ſpirit of the Greeks; over which the danger of barbarian rule began to hover. Had the Carthaginians been poſſeſſed of Sicily in the time of Gelo, their ſovereignty would ſoon have extended itſelf over Italy; and this early growth of Carthaginian power would have been fatal to riſing Rome. If Carthage and not Rome had been triumphant, the whole theatre of human affairs would have been changed. The ſanguinary genius of the Romans was modified by the nobler ſpirit of the Greeks: but the very ground work of Carthage was not to endure the introduction of foreign manners. They once made a law to prohibit the teaching of the Greek language *. The mild and godlike beam which enlightened all Chriſtendom, I freely grant, would have penetrated

* Juſtin. lib. xx. c. 5.

the

the world of Carthage; as it did the world of Rome: but it would have been after another manner; and the fruit of the engrafted heavenly ſcion would probably have contained ſomewhat of the bitter ſap of the ſavage trunk.

In the fourth year of the 11th Olympiad, 731 years before Chriſt and 22 years after the building of Rome, *Archias*, the deſcendant of Hercules, brought a colony from Corinth to the little iſland of Ortygia, after he had driven out the Siculi *. This ſmall iſland, which was connected with Sicily by a dam, muſt not be confounded with the iſland of Ortygia near Greece.

Archias and *Micyllus* (for ſo, agreeably to Cluverius, we muſt read in Strabo, inſtead of *Myſcellus*) had mutually aſked advice of Apollo, concerning the place to which they ſhould lead their companions. The oracle replied by aſking—"Whether they wiſhed their people to enjoy health, or wealth?" Archias choſe the latter; Micyllus health; and Apollo ſent him to that part of Italy where Croton was built, and Archias to the iſland of Ortygia. The new city was called *Syracuſa*;

* Thuc. vi. p. 379.

from

from the neighbouring marſh, *Syraca:* though probably the city from which the Siculi were driven had this name already *.

Syracuſe muſt quickly have become powerful; for, about ſeventy years afterward, it founded the colony of *Acræ*, *Caſmenæ* twenty years after that, and, in a hundred and thirty-five years, *Camarina:* beſide which the Syracuſians ſent inhabitants to *Enna.* It further appears that, in theſe early times, their freedom had more than once been endangered: for we find traces of a tyrant named Pollis, and of a Queen Philiſtis, who muſt have lived before Gelo, becauſe we find no mention of them in later times, of which we have an accurate account.

Gelo, the ſon of Dinomenes †, was a native of Gela; and, having obtained fame in war, he was appointed the leader of the cavalry of the Gelenſes, whom he afterward governed. When he became ruler of Syracuſe, he ſurrendered the government of Gela to his brother, Hiero: but took the half of the Gelenſes to Syracuſe, and likewiſe the citizens of Camarina, which place he deſtroyed, giving his followers the right of citizenſhip. Megara

* Strab. lib. vi. † Herod. l. vii.

undertook a war againſt Syracuſe, to which it was obliged to yield; and the rich, who had been the cauſe of the war, expected to be put to death: but even theſe, ſays Herodotus, Gelo took to Syracuſe, and gave them the right of citizenſhip: only the few that were innocent he ſuffered to remain in Megara *, on condition of ſelling them when he pleaſed. He dealt the ſame with the inhabitants of the little Sicilian town Eubœa; and thus Syracuſe became a large and powerful city.

I greatly reſpect the authority of Herodotus: but he was leſs informed of the affairs of Sicily than of thoſe of Greece, and the Eaſt; and I ſcarcely can believe that Gelo acted in this manner. Would it not have been natural to have puniſhed the guilty rich, by confiſcating their property to beſtow upon the poor, and to give the latter the right of citizenſhip? Beſide, Thucydides † ſays that Gelo drove the inhabitants of Megara from the city, and its territories.

* The German reads Syracuſe; but, though the paſſage in Herodotus is difficult immediately to find, the context evidently demands that we ſhould read Megara. T.

† Lib. vi. 380.

When

When Xerxes invaded Greece, ambaſſadors from that country were ſent to Gelo, requeſting his aid. Accordingly, he offered them twenty galleys, twenty thouſand heavy armed foot, two thouſand horſe, two thouſand archers, two thouſand ſlingers, two thouſand light armed runners, ἱπποδρόμους ψιλους, with corn for the whole Grecian army as long as the war ſhould continue; but accompanied theſe offers with the condition that he ſhould be general in chief of the Greeks, againſt the Barbarians.

When Syagrus the Spartan heard this, he exclaimed, Oh how would Agamemnon the ſon of Pelops rage, did he but hear that the Spartans were robbed of precedence by Gelo, and the Syracuſians!

Gelo modified this condition, by leaving it to the choice of the ambaſſadors whether he ſhould command by land or ſea: and now the Athenian interfered, who had before been ſilent; well knowing that the Spartan would give him a proper anſwer; and declared that, if the Spartan would yield the command of the fleet to Gelo, he, the Athenian, would not. It was an honour which,

ſhould it be required, would only be yielded to the Spartans. Athens would vainly be called the firſt naval power in Greece, if ſhe ſuffered Syracuſe to take the lead. It had been long ſince ſaid of them, by Homer, that their generals were the beſt to conduct an army. Gelo anſwered, "Athenian gueſt, it appears "that you have generals but want ſoldiers. "Return home, and tell the Greeks they have "a year without a ſpring."

By this he meant to compare the riſing power of Syracuſe to the ſpring.

Diodorus informs us that Xerxes, at the time that he made war on Greece, excited the Carthaginians to ſend an army againſt Sicily: in order thus to give employment to the Greek towns of the iſland: urging that the invaſion of the Perſians would ſecure the Carthaginians againſt the arms of the Greeks.

The Carthaginians followed this counſel; and attacked Theron, the tyrant of Agrigentum and Himera, with a prodigious army. I have related the aid which Gelo afforded to Himera in a former letter, with the glorious victory he obtained, and the manner in which he obliged the Carthaginians to make peace:

on

on whom he impoſed a tribute, and made a benevolent condition that they ſhould ſacrifice no more children to Saturn *.

Gelo, like a wiſe prince, promoted agriculture; and frequently led the Syracuſians to tillage, as he had done to victory †.

Diodorus relates that Gelo intended to have aided the Greeks againſt the Perſians, when he learnt that Xerxes had quitted Europe with a part of his army. He therefore renounced his project, and convoked an aſſembly of the people; in which each citizen appeared armed, himſelf alone excepted. He did not even put on his *tunic* or *chiton*, but appeared in his underrobe, ἀχίτων ἐν ἱματίῳ προσελθών, and gave an account of all his actions. The approbation of the people was proclaimed aloud, with the titles of benefactor, ſaviour and king! Honoured and beloved, he ended a life of fame; dying very old in the third year of the 75th Olympiad, 476 years before Chriſt, after having reigned ſeven years; and left the government to his younger brother, Hiero the Firſt ‡.

Hiero reigned eleven years. He diſtruſted

* Plut. Apophthegm. † Ibid.

‡ Diod. l. xi. vol. i. p. 433.

his brother Polyzelus, who had married Gelo's widow, becauſe of the reſpect in which he was held at Syracuſe, and placed a guard upon him; being jealous of his brother's ambitious intentions *. When the Sybarites were beſieged by the Crotonians, they ſent to Hiero for aid; and he appointed Polyzelus general, in the hope that he would periſh: but Polyzelus, ſuſpecting his intention, fled to his father-in-law, Theron.

The people of Himera, being oppreſſed under the rule of Thraſydeus, the ſon of Theron, offered Hiero their city, and to make a common cauſe with him againſt Theron, with whom he was angry for protecting his brother: but Hiero was reconciled to Theron and Polyzelus, and betrayed the inhabitants of Himera; many of whom Theron put to death ‡.

Hiero ſent aid to the Cumeans, who petitioned for it to reſiſt the attacks of the Tyrrheni, who were lords of the ſea. The Syracuſians and Cumeans united obtained a victory by ſea, and ſubjected the enemy; which victory is celebrated by Pindar, in his firſt Pythian ode; which he dedicates to Hiero.

* Diod. and Scholiaſt on Pindar.

† Diod. l. xi. vol. i. p. 440.

Hiero

Hiero died, after reigning eleven years, during which he had proved his avarice and ambition: but he was ſupported by the fame of the government of Gelo, the love of whoſe memory prevented the oppoſition of malcontents. Thraſybulus, the brother of Gelo and Hiero, who ſucceeded to the throne, reigned with cruelty and caprice, put many of the citizens to death contrary to juſtice and law, and ſent others into exile. The baniſhed choſe leaders and attacked him, aided by other Greek towns; and Thraſybulus thought himſelf fortunate in being allowed to reſign the government and retreat, after he had poſſeſſed it a year.

Free themſelves, the Syracuſians gave freedom to other cities, that were groaning under tyrants and overawed by garriſons; and continued to flouriſh in proſperity and liberty during ſixty years, till they were brought under the yoke of the elder Dionyſius.

This period however did not elapſe without diſturbances; the firſt of which occurred ſoon after Syracuſe had aſſerted its freedom. The citizens vowed to erect a coloſſal ſtatue to Zeus, the Deliverer; and annually, on the day that they had ſhaken off the fetters of

Thraſybulus, to make a ſolemn ſacrifice of four hundred and fifty oxen, accompanied with games. They likewiſe precluded the new citizens and the ſoldiers, ten thouſand of whom Gelo had preſented with the right of citizenſhip, from any participation in public affairs. Seven thouſand of this number were ſtill alive, and a civil war aroſe within the city.

Other towns took part in the commotion; till, at laſt, all united againſt the new made citizens: who, in a general abjuration, were obliged to renounce their rights. On this occaſion the former citizens, who had been driven away, were reinſtated in their privileges; and the ſtrangers were permitted to retire to the territories of Meſſina, in order, according to the highly probable conjecture of Weſſeling, to favour their return to their own country; they being moſt of them Italians. This happened in the fourth year of the 79th Olympiad, 459 years before the birth of Chriſt.

Seven years afterward, one Tyndarides excited a new commotion, and collected a crowd around him: thus hoping to ſeize on the government. His intentions were ſelf evident, and he was condemned to death.

As

As he was led to priſon, his partiſans aſſaulted his conductors, a tumult enſued, and the rioters with himſelf were ſlain.

Frequent occurrences like theſe induced the people to adopt a rule ſimilar to that of *Oſtraciſm*. Each citizen of Athens was permitted to write the name of a fellow citizen, whom he wiſhed to baniſh, on an oyſter ſhell, and to throw it into a receptacle, which was kept railed round in the public place. At the end of the year, theſe ſhells were counted by the Archons. If no citizen's name were found written on ſix thouſand ſhells, none were baniſhed: but, if the name of any one were thus often repeated, the citizen who had the moſt ſhells againſt him was obliged to leave his country for ten years *: though he was not deprived of his property.

In Syracuſe the names of the citizens whom the people wiſhed to baniſh were written on an olive leaf; and the period of baniſhment was only for five years. This was called *Petaliſm: Petalon* ſignifying a leaf, in Greek, and *Oſtracon* a ſhell. The thing which might be expected from a reſtleſs people happened: the nobleſt and beſt citizens

* Plut. Life of Ariſtides.

were

were baniſhed, and men of equity withdrew themſelves from public affairs; which were directed by mixed characters, among whom demagogues and ſycophants ſwarmed. The young men exerciſed themſelves in a ſpecies of eloquence the ſophiſtical and injurious arts of which were adopted, inſtead of their former ſevere education. Foreign peace occaſioned domeſtic wealth to accumulate: but concord and juſtice fled. The Syracuſians ſoon ſaw the dangerous effects of *Petaliſm*, and it was aboliſhed *.

A year afterward, Syracuſe ſent a fleet againſt the *Tyrrheni* (or Tuſcans) who infeſted Sicily with their piracies. The Syracuſians laid waſte the iſland of *Æthalia* (or Elba); but Phayllus, their leader, was bribed by the Tyrrheni, returned to Syracuſe, and was ſent into baniſhment.

The Syracuſians then ſent Apelles, with ſixty galleys, who made deſcents on the Tyrrhenian coaſt, attacked the iſland of *Cyrnos* (or Corſica), conquered Æthalia, and returned with much booty and many ſlaves.

It was in the following year that Ducetius, the leader of the Siculi, after an unfortunate

* Diod. l. xi. vol. i. p. 469.

battle,

battle, delivered himſelf up to the Syracuſians: as I have related in a former letter. When he left Corinth, to which he had been ſent, having firſt promiſed to remain there, and returned to Sicily, the Agrigentini, who looked with envy on the power of Syracuſe, ſeized this pretence for declaring war againſt it; accuſing the Syracuſians of having ſuffered their common enemy to depart, without their conſent. The Agrigentini were overcome in battle; and Syracuſe granted them peace at their own requeſt *.

In the third year of the 84th Olympiad, 439 years before Chriſt, Sicily and Italy, and indeed the greateſt part of the known world, enjoyed peace and repoſe; and the Greek towns of Sicily, Agrigentum itſelf included, acknowledged the predominating reſpectability of Syracuſe.

Three years afterward, the Syracuſians built a hundred galleys, doubled their cavalry, increaſed their foot, and heightened the tribute which they levied on the Siculi; purſuing the ambitious views they had conceived reſpecting the whole iſland, which they gra-

* Diod. l. xi. xii. vol. i. p. 474 and 482.

dually

dually hoped to bring under their government.

In the ſecond year of the 88th Olympiad, 425 years before Chriſt, the Leontini were the cauſe of the firſt enterpriſe of the Athenians againſt Syracuſe; which was productive of no remarkable events, as the two States ſoon made peace with each other *.

Eleven years afterward, the Aceſtæi and Leontini requeſted aſſiſtance from the Athenians: the Aceſtæi againſt Selinus, and the Leontini once more againſt Syracuſe.

The Athenians were glad of the pretext, for they had long been ambitious of poſſeſſing Sicily. They began this war with enthuſiaſtic hope, which was enflamed by the young Alcibiades. Nicias, a conſcientious man, whoſe advice was againſt the war, Alcibiades, and Lamachus, were appointed generals againſt Syracuſe †.

The intoxicating ardour with which the Athenians began this war affords a grand warning example to mankind.

When the men and proviſions were on board the ſhips, the trumpet commanded a

* See Letter xci. † Thuc. l. vi. p. 381.

general

general ſilence. The uſual vows were not confined to each ſhip, but were announced aloud for the whole by the herald. The ſacrificing goblets were every where filled and emptied by the chiefs and leaders of the army; and the people on ſhore, their friends, and citizens, all joined them in their entreaties to the Gods. After the emptying of the goblets and the ſhouts of *Io Pæan*, the ſhips departed one after the other, and then rowed, contending for ſwiftneſs, to the iſland of *Ægina**.

The Syracuſians received advice from different parts of the approach of the Athenians, which they would not credit. Hermocrates, the ſon of Hermon, endeavoured to convince them that the Athenians were coming with a mighty power; and adviſed the Syracuſians to give them battle, on the Ionian ſea.

Having finiſhed his oration, a violent conteſt aroſe; ſome believing nothing that he had ſaid, others that he had exaggerated the force of the Athenians.

Athanagoras, a demagogue, according to the cuſtom of ſuch people, accuſed the *Strategi* †, that "they ſpread the vain rumour of

* Thuc. l. vi. p. 398.

† This word, which properly ſignifies generals, denoted in Syracuſe the principal rulers of the republic.

"war

" war only to ſubject the people. Syracuſe " was potent enough to repel the Athenians. " He muſt be a fearful man, or inimical to his " country, who did not wiſh the Athenians " might be fooliſh enough to make ſuch an " attempt *."

The Syracuſians inveſted three *Strategi*, Hermocrates, Sicanus, and Heraclides, with full power; but not till the fleet of the Athenians was in the ſtraits. Theſe leaders aſſembled the troops, and ſent ambaſſadors to the towns of Sicily; inviting them all to unite in the common cauſe. The people of Himera, Selinus, Gela, and Catana, declared for Syracuſe. The Siculi were likewiſe inclined to the ſame ſide, but waited the iſſue. I have before related the manner in which the Athenians were deceived by the Aceſtæi, who made a falſe diſplay of borrowed gold and ſilver.

The people of Agrigentum and Naxos declared for the Athenians. The people of Catana forbad the army of the Athenians to enter their town; but agreed, at the requeſt of the generals, to call an aſſembly of the people; and, while Alcibiades made them an oration, ſome of the Athenians broke in at a little gate

* Thuc. lib. vi. p. 598.

and

and entered Catana: by which means this town was obliged to declare againſt Syracuſe.

Alcibiades was afterward recalled to Athens; under the pretext of his having, during night, mutilated the ſtatues of Hermes; but in reality becauſe he was ſuſpected of ambitious views.

I dare only curſorily notice a ſiege the hiſtory of which has been given by Thucydides, with a force peculiar to himſelf; and charmingly written by Diodorus, and Plutarch.

The fortune of war was changeable, and the Athenians and Syracuſians were ſeveral times aided by their allies. Lamachus was ſlain, as was Eurymedon; whom the Athenians had ſent, with Demoſthenes *, at the head of a new army. The plague began to rage in the camp of the beſiegers; and, after great defeats, the Athenians yielded to Gylippus, the Spartan, who had been ſent to the aid of Syracuſe. The Athenians loſt eighteen thouſand men in the laſt battle; and ſeven thouſand, with their generals, were made priſoners.

On the following day, a conſultation was

* Not Demoſthenes the orator. T.

held

held before the aſſembled people, concerning the diſpoſal of the priſoners. Diocles, a powerful demagogue, adviſed that Nicias and Demoſthenes ſhould firſt be ſcourged, and then put to death; and that the allies ſhould be ſold, and the ſoldiers preſerved to dig in the quarries; but that they ſhould only be allowed a ſcanty ſubſiſtence of barley meal.

Hermocrates, who had fought with ſo much glory againſt the conquered Athenians, endeavoured to convince his fellow citizens that humanity after victory was more glorious than victory itſelf *. The people were enraged; and Nicolaus, one of their elders, roſe, ſupported by two ſlaves: being weak through age and affliction. "No man," ſaid he, "has more cauſe to hate the Athenians than "I have: for they have robbed me of my two "ſons, inſtead of whom I muſt now be ſup-"ported by ſlaves." He endeavoured however to excite compaſſion, for the unfortunate and ſufficiently puniſhed Athenians: he warned them, by the very example which the Athenians had afforded, againſt the abuſe of good fortune; and reminded them that the Athe-

* Ὡς καλλιον ἐστι τῷ νικᾶν το την νικην ἐνεγκειν ανθρωπινως. Diod. l. xiii. vol. i. p. 556.

nians had ſurrendered on the faith of their promiſe. " Thoſe," added he, " who thirſt " after rule, will never prevail ſo effectually " by the force of arms as by the force of mo- " rals." He cited the example of Gelo; who, inveſted with the power of all Sicily, gave peace to the Carthaginians whom he had conquered, and won the hearts of all men by his mildneſs. The advantage of arms often depended on fortune; and mercy was the proper attribute of victory. Hatred againſt the foe ought not to be immortal; and the conqueror ſhould be the firſt to offer peace. The Athenians themſelves, in the iſland of *Sphacteria*, had ſet the Lacedemonian priſoners free. It was a wiſe cuſtom, in the ancients, to erect their tokens of victory not of ſtone, but of wood; that they might not immortalize their hatred. He reminded them of thoſe benefits which the Athenians had conferred on mankind; who had been taught by them the art of agriculture, which they had learned from the Gods. They had been the firſt to make laws, afford protection to fugitives, and by their eloquence, philoſophy, and the teaching of myſteries, had enlightened the nations. As for the allies, they had fought

under conſtraint; and Nicias, who had ever been the friend of Syracuſe, had given his counſel againſt the war: Nicias, that now ſtood with his arms bound behind his back, as if fortune were willing to prove her power, and her caprice. As men, they might be allowed to profit by the favours of fortune; but ſhould not uſe them to treat a people of Grecian origin with barbarian rage *. This diſcourſe inclined the people to compaſſion; till Gylippus the Spartan roſe, by whom, changeable as they were, again they were excited to cruelty. The propoſition of Diocles was adopted. Nicias, Demoſthenes, and the confederates, were put to death; and the Athenian ſoldiers were ſent to the quarries, where the moſt of them periſhed by the ſeverity of their treatment †. Some few only, who were learned in the ſciences, were reſcued and protected by the youth of Syracuſe.

Among thoſe who lived to reviſit their country many came to ſalute Euripides, and thank him for their ſalvation: for ſome were treated kindly, as priſoners, who could repeat the verſes of this great poet; and others who,

* Diod. l. xiii. vol. i. p. 557.

† Diod. and Thuc. l. vii. p. 504.

after

after their defeat, had ſtrayed through the country, were received and ſupported for having made his works known to the Sicilians, who before had only heard of the fame of his tragedies *.

When the Syracuſians ſaw themſelves delivered from the Athenians, following the advice of Diocles, they choſe perſons to make new laws. Diocles himſelf was elected; and performed his office with ſo much ſuperiority that the laws, after him, were called the laws of Diocles. They were very ſevere, but famous for being ſtrictly obſerved: he himſelf fell a ſacrifice to them. According to one of them, it was death for a citizen to appear armed in the public aſſembly of the people. When the approach of the foe was announced, it is ſaid he left his houſe with a ſword; and a ſudden tumult drew him to the place of aſſembly: on which a citizen called to him—"Diocles! you infringe your own law."—"Not ſo, by Zeus!" anſwered he: "I fulfil "it:" and ran himſelf through the body.

After his death, the Syracuſians ranked him with their heroes, and dedicated a temple to his memory. Many of the towns of Sicily

* Plut. Life of Nicias.

adopted his laws: till the iſland, with the citizenſhip of Rome, accepted its juriſprudence.

The Aceſtæi, who had been the allies of Athens, now dreaded the revenge of Syracuſe, and yielded the conteſted lands to the Selinuntii: but, as the latter made farther incroachments, the Aceſtæi, three years after the Athenians had left Sicily, ſent for aid to the Carthaginians and offered them their city. An army came from Carthage, and firſt deſtroyed Selinus, and next Himera, in the manner I have related when deſcribing the ruins of thoſe towns.

Hermocrates, who had been ſent by the Syracuſians with thirty-five galleys to aid the Lacedemonians againſt the Athenians, during the prolonged Peloponneſian war, while he was abſent, was calumniated by his enemies: who ſo far prevailed as to cauſe his baniſhment *. On the arrival of his ſucceſſor on board the fleet, he fled to the Perſian Satrap, Pharnabazus, who was his friend: from him he received money, ſailed to Meſſina, built five galleys, and took a thouſand warriors in pay. To theſe were added a thouſand fugitives from Himera.

* Diod. l. xiii. vol. i. p. 590.

With

With this force, he endeavoured by the aid of his friends to return to Syracuſe: but failing he landed, ſeized on Selinus which had been ſacked, fortified a part of the city, and collected around him the ſcattered citizens that had eſcaped from the Carthaginians. Strengthened by many others, he laid the territory of the Carthaginian town, Motya, waſte; after he had conquered the inhabitants (who had riſen againſt him) and ſeized on the lands of Panormus (or Palermo) and the whole province of the Carthaginians, obtaining booty and fame. The Syracuſians repented of the capricious injuſtice they had done the hero; and his name was frequently repeated, with praiſe, in their aſſemblies.

He likewiſe ſeized on Himera; and Diocles, who during the ſiege had been ſent to its aid, was with the women and children of this city ſhipped off for Syracuſe; nor did they ſtay to bury their fellow citizens that were ſlain: but Hermocrates collected their remains, ſent them to Syracuſe in magnificent chariots, and conducted them to the borders of his own country.

Contention aroſe in the city, concerning the receiving of theſe remains; and, contrary

to the deſire of Diocles, they were interred with pomp in a proceſſion of the whole people. Diocles was baniſhed; but Hermocrates was not recalled, becauſe this bold man was held to be dangerous, and he returned to Selinus.

Some time afterward, being invited by his friends, he placed himſelf at the head of three thouſand men, marched through the territories of Gela, and came by night to an appointed place. As they could not all follow him, he choſe a few; and approached the gate of that part of Syracuſe which was called Achradina: of which place his friends had taken poſſeſſion, and received thoſe that came. The Syracuſians ran armed to the forum; and Hermocrates, with moſt of his attendants, were ſlain: the remainder were baniſhed. Some, who were much wounded, were given out by their relations as dead, to protect them from the rage of the people; and among theſe was Dionyſius, who afterward became their tyrant *.

The Syracuſians ſent ambaſſadors to Carthage, to charge them with the intention of making war; to which the Carthaginians re-

* Diod. l. xiii. vol. i. p. 600.

turned

turned an ambiguous anſwer: but ſent a large army, which took and deſtroyed Agrigentum *.

The fugitives, from Agrigentum to Syracuſe, accuſed the Syracuſian generals of betraying the Greek towns to the Carthaginians; and the Greek towns of Sicily joined in the murmurs that ſuch men ſhould be entruſted with the defence of their common country. None however dared openly to complain. And now it was that Dionyſius aroſe, the ſon of one Hermocrates: not him I have juſt mentioned, but a common man; and according to ſome an aſs driver. He accuſed the generals of treachery, inflamed the people, and urged them not to wait the period appointed by the law, but puniſh them for their guilt †. He was in vain condemned by the chief tribunal in a fine, as a diſturber of the peace; for it was promiſed to be paid by Philiſtus, the hiſtorian, who added—"Should the Archons "every day condemn you to new fines, I will "pay them all."

* See Letter XC.

† The uſual reading is: μη περιμειναι τον κατα τας νομους κληρον. Dionyſius counſelled them not to wait the legal election of judges: but, inſtead of κληρον, I read, with Rhodomann, καιρον.

Dionyſius continued to aſperſe the generals, calumniate the moſt reſpectable citizens, and adviſe them to ſafely guard the public weal by confiding it to the favourites of the people. Accordingly, the former Strategi were diveſted of their office, and others were named: among whom was Dionyſius. He ſoon cauſed his aſſociates to be ſuſpected, obtained the recall of the baniſhed, falſely accuſed the other Strategi of a ſecret underſtanding with Himilco the General of the Carthaginians, and was appointed the ſole Strategus, with full powers, by the beſotted citizens.

The people had ſcarcely ſeparated before they, too late, repented of their folly. Accompanied by a crowd, Dionyſius made a pretence to go to Leontium, which ſerved the Syracuſians as a fortreſs; where he harangued the people, who conſiſted of fugitives and ſtrangers, and perſuaded them to grant him a body guard of ſix hundred men.

This guard was compoſed of people whom neceſſity made enterpriſing; of ſlaves, and diſſolute perſons; and with them Dionyſius eſtabliſhed himſelf in a camp before Syracuſe, after he had abandoned the Lacedemonian, Dexippus, whom he knew to be a determined friend

friend of freedom. The fear of theſe ſoldiers, they being the partiſans of Dionyſius, who now ſhewed himſelf as a tyrant, and of the Carthaginians, kept the Syracuſians in conſtraint. Dionyſius married a daughter of Hermocrates, and gave his ſiſter to Polyxenus; a brother of the Syracuſian General who was killed, and whoſe worth they knew too late; and his alliance with theſe families maintained his reſpect *.

In a public aſſembly, he excited the people againſt Demarchus, and Daphnæus, whom he put to death.

Thus Dionyſius, from a ſcribe, became tyrant of Syracuſe; in the third year of the 93d Olympiad, 404 years before the birth of Chriſt.

The Peloponneſian war, which had continued twenty-ſeven years, was the following year brought to a concluſion; and the Carthaginians took Gela, before the walls of which they gained an advantage over Dionyſius. Deſpairing to relieve the town, he ſent the inhabitants by night to Syracuſe: to which city he likewiſe obliged the people of Camarina, with their wives and children, to go. Some

* Diod. lib. xiii. vol. i. p. 614.

collected

collected gold and silver: others, less attentive to this kind of loss, were eager in protecting their aged parents, and their tender children. Some of the aged, who had neither children nor friend, remained behind; in momentary expectation of the Carthaginians. The fate of Selinus, Himera, and Agrigentum, had filled all hearts with terror: for the Carthaginians neither knew forbearance nor compassion, toward an unfortunate enemy; but crucified some, and with ironical pity and cruel scoffs made others their derision *.

This disorderly flight, which hurried young virgins forward in despite of their tender sex, and which, regardless of tottering age and feeble childhood, obliged all to fly, or perish, excited the compassion of the army, and its hatred against Dionysius; who, it was suspected, had only yielded to the Carthaginians that the terror of this people might bring the towns of Sicily under his own yoke. He had but lately given aid to the allies, none of his soldiers had fallen in the war, and he had fled without any real occasion; not being pursued by any foe.

These murmurs became public, the Greeks

* Diod. lib. xiii. vol. i. p. 632.

of

of Italy withdrew from him, and the Syracuſian horſe, that had watched a favourable opportunity to put him to death but had found him continually ſurrounded by his guards, rode away to Syracuſe. Here they plundered the houſe of the tyrant; and ſeized, ill treated, and put his wife to death: or, according to Plutarch, ſhe killed herſelf*.

Dionyſius followed, with a choſen few whom he could truſt, and the horſe, who did not expect his arrival, began to boaſt: ſaying he had fled at the appearance of the Carthaginians, and he now fled before the Syracuſians. About midnight however, after a very haſty march, he appeared before the gate of Achradina with a hundred horſe, and ſix hundred foot. Finding it ſhut upon him, he ſet fire to it with reeds; which had been brought there for the uſe of maſons.

More of his adherents having arrived, he entered Syracuſe. The moſt reſpectable of the Syracuſian horſe did not wait for the concurrence of the people, and, though but few in numbers, withſtood the tyrant and fell by his ſoldiers: after which Dionyſius revenged himſelf on his enemies; ſome of

* Plut. Life of Dion.

whom

whom he put to death, and baniſhed others. The greateſt part of the horſe forced their way out of the city, and took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong little town of Ætna *.

Himilco ſent to Syracuſe, and made propoſals of peace †; which were welcomely accepted, by Dionyſius.

By this treaty, the Carthaginians, excluſive of their former colonies, maintained their ſovereignty over the Sicani, the Selinuntii, the Agrigentini, and the people of Himera. The Gelenſes and the Camarini were reinſtated in their towns; but were tributary to the Carthaginians ‡. The people of Leontium, Meſſina, and the Siculi, were to live free, according to their own laws: the Syracuſians to be ſubject to Dionyſius, and the priſoners and ſhips that were taken were to be reſtored.

If, in one point of view, Dionyſius was glad

* Weſſeling evidently proves, we ought to read *την νυν καλεμενην Αιτναν*: inſtead of *την νυν καλεμενην Αχραδινην*. Of the little town of Ætna, which was formerly called *Ineſſa*, I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

† Diodorus calls this leader at one time Himilco, and at another Hamilcar: or rather Hamilcas.

‡ See the firſt letter written from Sicily, concerning the Sicani and Siculi.

to

to be at peace with the Carthaginians, in another, he dreaded the repoſe which peace would afford to Syracuſe. That he might ſecure himſelf in his tyranny as much as poſſible, he cut off the iſland of Ortygia, which had been joined to Sicily by a dam, from the reſt of the city; by building a high wall, which he provided with many lofty towers, and raiſing a ſtrong fortreſs on the iſland: including, within the wall of this fortreſs, a dock in the ſmall haven which was called *Laccius*. This dock contained ſixty galleys; and had a narrow opening, through which only one veſſel at a time could paſs.

Dionyſius gave the houſes on the iſland of Ortygia to his ſoldiers, and friends; and thoſe of the remainder of the city he ſhared among the multitude. After theſe proceedings, he marched againſt the Siculi; whom, of all the free people of Sicily, he was the moſt deſirous to ſubject, becauſe they had taken part with the Carthaginians; and led his army againſt the town of the Herbenſes.

When the Syracuſians ſaw themſelves armed, they began to think of their own deliverance; and reproached themſelves, for not having made a common cauſe with the horſe.

Doricus, one of the commanders of the tyrant, threatened a free-ſpeaking orator and was put to death; and the embittered warriors, inviting the citizens to freedom, ſent to the horſe in the town of Ætna for aſſiſtance. Dionyſius, being terrified, haſtened from Herbeſſus to Syracuſe; while thoſe who made the ſtand choſe the warriors who had put Doricus to death as their leaders. Strengthened by the horſe from Ætna, they fixed their camp in the quarter called Epipolæ; and cut off the tyrant from all communication with the country. Zealous for the freedom of Syracuſe, Meſſina and Rhegium ſent eighty galleys to its aid. The iſland of Ortygia was now beſieged, ſoldiers that deſerted were granted the rights of citizenſhip, and a price was put upon the tyrant's head.

Cut off from the city and abandoned by the ſoldiers, Dionyſius aſſembled his dependants; and, ſo very doubtful was his ſituation that, he aſked their opinion concerning the kind of death which would moſt leſſen his diſgrace? Heloris, who according to ſome had brought him up from childhood*, ſaid—"Tyranny is "only

* Εις των φιλων, ὡς δ'ἐνιοι φασι, ὁ ποιητος πατηρ, is the true reading

" only a handſome ſhroud." Polyxenus, his brother-in-law, adviſed him to fly on his ſwifteſt horſe: but Philiſtus, the hiſtorian, remarked—" It becomes thee not to fly from " tyranny on the back of a courſer, Diony- " ſius, but rather to defend thyſelf till thou " art dragged down by the leg *."

Dionyſius acted in character, endeavoured to gain time, and ſent to the Syracuſians; requeſting permiſſion for him and his followers to quit the city. He likewiſe ſent to the Campani, who had been left by Himilco to guard the lands in Sicily; offering to grant all they could demand, if they would ſet him free.

The Syracuſians allowed him to depart with five galleys, delivered up many warriors, and were in other reſpects negligent. Twelve hundred Campani likewiſe arrived, cut their way to Dionyſius, and maſſacred many of the citizens in the fray. He was alſo joined by three hundred ſoldiers that had croſſed the ſea: the Syracuſians became divided, he

reading of Weſſeling. The reading which makes Heloris a poet is not Greek. Thoſe who are in favour of ποιητης muſt add πατηρ. Beſide there is no poet named Heloris.

* Inſtead of θελοντος I, with Rhodomann and Weſſeling, read θεοντος.

gained

gained a victory over them, and they diſperſed.

Dionyſius ſuffered the ſlain to be buried, and ſent invitations to the fugitives that had retired to the town of Ætna: ſome of whom, who had left their wives and children in Syracuſe, returned; and others anſwered the ambaſſadors, who pleaded the merit of the burial of the dead, that the tyrant merited the like kindneſs. "May the Gods," ſaid they, "ſoon grant it to Dionyſius!"

They determined however not to truſt him, and remained in Ætna; watching for ſome favourable opportunity to undertake ſomething againſt Dionyſius, who received thoſe that came back with courteſy that he might fix them in his intereſt.

Having rewarded the Campani, he diſmiſſed them; unwilling to truſt to their inconſtancy; and they went to *Entella*, a town of Trojan origin, where they harangued the citizens, aſked permiſſion to reſide amongſt them, then fell upon and maſſacred the men by night, ſeized on the women, and took poſſeſſion of the place.

After the concluſion of the Peloponneſian war, the Lacedemonians exerciſed an acknowledged

ledged ſovereignty by land and ſea; and the fleets of cities in particular were inſpected by their commanders, who, according to the cuſtom of the Spartans, appointed Harmoſtes, and favoured the Oligarchy *. They made the conquered tributary; and the people whoſe laws prohibited money, now impoſed an annual tribute of a thouſand talents.

With the pretence of favouring freedom, but in reality to ſtrengthen the tyrant, they ſent Ariſtus to Syracuſe; hoping that Dionyſius would govern as their dependant. After a ſecret conference with him, Ariſtus excited the people to inſurrection, with a promiſe of liberty: but he betrayed thoſe who had truſted him, put Nicotetes the Corinthian, who had headed the citizens of Syracuſe, to death, and ſtrengthened the tyranny.

At the time that the Syracuſians were employed about their harveſt, Dionyſius entered their houſes, and took away their arms. He then raiſed a new wall round the citadel, built ſhips, took a number of mercenaries into pay,

* The Harmoſtes exerciſed much the ſame degree of power, over foreign poſſeſſions, as the pro-conſuls, or pro-prætors, of the Romans. After the battle of Leuctra, where they were conquered by Epaminondas, the Spartans ſent no more Harmoſtes.

and eſtabliſhed himſelf more ſecurely than ever in the government.

After this, he conquered *Catana*, the preſent *Catania*, Naxos, and Leontium*; and perſuaded Æimneſtus, a citizen of Enna, to become the tyrant of that place, with a promiſe of his aſſiſtance. The attempt of Æimneſtus ſucceeded: but the new tyrant ſhut his gates againſt Dionyſius, who then excited the people of Enna to ſhake off the yoke. Favoured by an oppoſite party, Dionyſius gained admiſſion, ſeized on Æimneſtus, delivered him up to the vengeance of the citizens, and departed from the place without endangering its ſafety: by which he endeavoured to win the confidence of other towns. Dionyſius built a town at the foot of Ætna, and called it *Adranum*, in the firſt year of the 95th Olympiad, 398 years before the birth of Chriſt†: the ſame year in which Socrates drank the poiſon.

He now prepared for an attack on the Carthaginians, to which he was encouraged by the viſitation which theſe people had ſuffered from the plague, and ſent for artiſts from

* Diod. lib. xiv. vol. i. p. 650.

† Diod. lib. xiv. vol. i. p. 672.

Greece, Italy, and the territories of Carthage, who ſhould make different arms, according to the manner of the different nations that ſhould enliſt under his banners. Theſe artiſts he patroniſed, and inſtructed. The Syracuſians partook of his zeal for the enterpriſe; and the houſes behind the temple, the gymnaſia, the arcades of the forum, and the houſes of the principal citizens were formed into workſhops. Among this confluence of the moſt ingenious artiſts the catapulta was diſcovered.

Dionyſius ſupplied his galleys with five banks of rowers; and obtained much ſhip timber from Italy, but ſent the half of his wood cutters to Ætna, which then produced many pine and fig trees: ſo that, in a ſhort ſpace of time, Dionyſius cauſed two hundred new ſhips to be built, and a hundred and ten old ones to be improved. He likewiſe built a hundred and ſixty coſtly docks, for ſhipping: moſt of which had room for two veſſels.

The Lacedemonians permitted him to take their ſoldiers into pay; but Rhegium and Meſſina had ſhortly before declared againſt him: nay they had entered the field; but their attempt was fruſtrated, by a tumult in

Meſſina. Aware of the preponderance that theſe cities would give, Dionyſius was deſirous of obtaining their friendſhip, and requeſted the Rhegini to grant him one of their virgins for a wife; hoping by children to ſtrengthen himſelf in his tyranny: but this alliance was refuſed in a public aſſembly of the people, according to ſome; and, according to others, they ſent him the daughter of an archer: or thief-taker.

He then made the ſame requeſt to the *Epizephyrian Locri*, in Italy, which was granted; and he married Doris, the daughter of Xenetus, one of the moſt reſpectable of their citizens. For her he ſent a galley, richly ornamented; and, at the ſame time, brought home Ariſtomache, who was one of the noble virgins of Syracuſe, and for whom he ſent a chariot drawn by four white horſes *.

He now exhorted the Syracuſians, in full aſſembly, to declare war againſt the Carthaginians; and to ſeize on the effects of ſuch as inhabited Syracuſe, many of whom had ſettled in that city. Accordingly, the houſes of theſe people were plundered, ſuch of their ſhips as lay in the harbour were ſeized as the prey of

* Diod. l. xiv. vol. i. p. 674.

war,

war, and the example was followed by other parts of Sicily. After this proceeding, Dionyſius ſent delegates to declare war againſt Carthage: unleſs the Greek towns, poſſeſſed by that State, were ſet free.

The five cities of Ancyra, Solus, Egeſta, Panormus, and Entella, alone remained faithful to the Carthaginians: the tribes of the Sicani took part in the war againſt them; and the Camarini, Gelenſes, and Agrigentini, likewiſe went over to Dionyſius, who now was at the head of an army of eighty thouſand men, and had two hundred galleys at ſea. Himera and Selinus followed the example of the other cities: the Government of Carthage being juſtly held in abhorrence. Motya, after a very valiant defence, was taken; and the victors moſt cruelly ſatiated their vengeance againſt the Carthaginians, in the blood of the conquered *.

Motya however was ſoon recovered, by Himilco; who likewiſe took Meſſina, but without being able to poſſeſs himſelf of the citadel: on which the Siculi, the little tribe of the Aſſorini excepted, deſerted Dionyſius, and went over to the Carthaginians. Himilco

* Diod. l. xiv. vol. i. p. 678.

razed Meſſina to the ground, and then beſieged Syracuſe; after that Mago, an inferior commander, had defeated the fleet of the Syracuſians. Himilco took a part of the city of Syracuſe and plundered two of the temples.

Theodorus, a reſpectable citizen of Syracuſe, excited the inhabitants againſt Dionyſius; juſtly affirming that it would even be better to yield to the Carthaginians, who would ſuffer them to be governed by their own laws, than to live under the oppreſſion of the tyrant. He exhorted them however to maintain their freedom. Paracidas, a Spartan leader, next roſe; whom the citizens expected to ſupport the opinion of Theodorus, but he declared that the Lacedemonians had ſent him to aid them againſt the Carthaginians, not to deprive Dionyſius of the rule.

In the mean while, the beſieged gained ſeveral advantages over the Carthaginians; in whoſe camp a fearful plague prevailed, and Himilco deſired he might retreat unmoleſted. Dionyſius granted leave for the Carthaginians to retire, but not their allies; and the former withdrew during the night, the Siculi diſperſed, and the Spaniards were taken into the

pay

pay of the tyrant. Himilco was ſo chagrined at the diſgrace of his retreat, that he ſuffered himſelf to die of hunger, overwhelmed with reproach *.

Dionyſius beſtowed Leontium on ten thouſand of his ſoldiers, and once again repeopled the ruined Meſſina: but the Rhegini now declared againſt him, terrified at ſeeing him in poſſeſſion of Meſſina; as likewiſe did the Siculi; from whom, after a defeat, he with difficulty eſcaped †.

The Carthaginians then ſent Mago, with new forces by land and ſea; but ſoon after concluded a peace, by which the Siculi and Tauromenium were ſubjected to the tyrant: who thereupon projected the enſlaving of the Greek towns on the coaſt of Italy, loſt a battle againſt the Rhegini, and eſcaped with difficulty on board a galley.

The people of Croton, to which place Heloris from Syracuſe had fled, now joined the other Greek towns in Italy. Heloris was their leader; and, with many others, fell, valiantly fighting, and the remainder of the combatants were obliged to ſurrender to Dio-

* Ib. p. 687 to 702.

† Diod. lib. xiv. vol. i. p. 710 to 719.

nyſius; who did not abuſe the victory he had gained, but ſet them at liberty, and made peace with all the Italian towns, except Rhegium. The Rhegini were ſubjected to rigorous terms, and ſurrendered their ſhips, to the number of ſeventy: but not ſatisfied with this, he required them to furniſh him with proviſions till he ſhould withdraw his army; ſeeking, if they refuſed, a new pretext againſt them; and, if they complied, to reduce the city by hunger.

The Rhegini at firſt were not aware of his intention; but, when he delayed his departure, they refuſed to ſend him more ſupplies, and he again undertook the ſiege. Shaken as the walls were by his dreadful machines, the Rhegini courageouſly defended themſelves during eleven months: nor did they ſurrender till the herbage on which they had lived began to fail. Dionyſius found heaps of wretches, who had periſhed with famine; and only made ſomething more than ſix thouſand priſoners, whom he ſent to Syracuſe: ſuffering thoſe who could pay a mina to ranſom themſelves, and expoſing the others to public ſale.

Dionyſius poſſeſſed more than one kind of ambition; and, although his poetry had been hiſſed

hiſſed at the Olympic games, he wiſhed to be thought a great poet. He favoured the poet Philoxenus; but ſent him to dig in the ſtone quarries, for having freely expreſſed his opinion of the tyrant's poetry. The next day he cauſed him to be brought back, and repeated verſes to him, which particularly glanced at Philoxenus: who, impatient at hearing this poetry, exclaimed, "Send me "back to the ſtone quarries!" The tyrant could not forbear laughing, and ſet him at liberty.

The contempt however in which the Greeks held his poetry excited the moſt gloomy melancholy in his mind, which would frequently burſt into rage; and he ſent Leptines, his brother, and Philiſtus, into baniſhment, and put others to death. He was reconciled to the two firſt, according to Diodorus: but Plutarch tells us that Philiſtus did not return till the reign of Dionyſius the younger *.

He made a campaign againſt the Tyrrheni, in order to procure money, under the pretext that they were pirates; and returned enriched by the plunder of a temple. He next excited the towns that were ſubject to Carthage to

* Plut. Life of Dion.

revolt: a war broke out, Dionyſius was victor, and Mago, the Carthaginian general, was ſlain.

The ſon of Mago ſucceeded to the command, obtained a great victory, in which Leptines fell valiantly fighting, and Dionyſius was obliged to conclude a peace. The Carthaginians obtained the town and territory of Selinus, and added a part of the territory of Agrigentum to their own, as far as the river *Halycus*, the preſent *Fiume Platani*, and Dionyſius was further obliged to pay a thouſand talents.

Fifteen years afterward, in the firſt year of the 103d Olympiad, the year 366 before Chriſt, Dionyſius engaged in a new war againſt Carthage, took Selinus, Entella, and Eryx, and beſieged Lilybæum; but was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. The approach of winter occaſioned a ſuſpenſion of arms; and the tyrant died, after a reign of thirty-eight years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, Dionyſius the Second *, who was borne him by Doris, of the *Epizephyrian Locri.*

There lived a man in Syracuſe who, although the friend of liberty, and ſevere in

* Diod. lib. xv. vol. ii. p. 60.

principle,

principle, had long been highly eſteemed by the elder Dionyſius, and employed in public affairs: particularly in embaſſies to Carthage. This man was Dion, the brother of Ariſtomache, the wife that Dionyſius had married of Syracuſe, at the ſame time that he married Doris of Locris *.

During the period that the elder Dionyſius teſtified a love of knowledge, Plato came to Syracuſe; probably, as ſeveral of the ancients affirm, to viſit the iſland: and particularly Mount Ætna. His fame at firſt made him welcomed by the tyrant: but, when he began freely to ſpeak againſt tyranny, Dionyſius became angry. According to Diodorus, he was ſold as a ſlave for twenty mina; and he was redeemed by the philoſophers. According to Plutarch, one Pollis, a Spartan, who traded to Syracuſe, was commiſſioned to ſell him in Ægina; which commiſſion he fulfilled: but, in either caſe, he was certainly ſoon afterward ranſomed.

The ſhort reſidence of Plato in Syracuſe had not been fruitleſs: he had ſown the ſeeds of his philoſophy in the heart of Dion, and the produce was the moſt dignified wiſdom.

* Diod. lib. xv. vol. ii. p. 8, and Plut. Life of Dion.

Such

Such a man could not but be hateful to the courtiers of a young prince; and it would ſeem eaſy to have rendered him ſuſpected, ſince he might have employed the reſpect in which he was held againſt Dionyſius, to the advantage of his ſiſter's ſons. But the young tyrant honoured Dion, and acknowledged the purity of his intentions: for Dion endeavoured to inſpire him with a love of juſtice, and with dignity of ſoul, and brought him acquainted with the writings of Plato, filling him with an earneſt deſire to be taught by that great man. Dion wrote many letters of invitation to Plato, and was ſeconded by the Pythagorean philoſophers of Italy, who entreated his compliance. Plato yielded to theſe entreaties, and the courtiers thought it neceſſary to give him a rival: they therefore prevailed on Dionyſius to recall Philiſtus, who had been baniſhed, and who, for the ſpace of forty years, had been the determined friend of tyranny.

The preſence of Plato, at firſt, had ſuch an effect on Dionyſius that he not only admired him but participated in his noble ſentiments; and the herd of courtiers were terrified when the herald, according to cuſtom, prayed for the

the undiſturbed continuance of the government of the tyrant, and Dionyſius exclaimed, "What! will you never leave curſing me?"

Theſe courtiers frequently teſtified their chagrin, that a ſophiſt of Athens, as they called Plato, ſhould overthrow the power of the princes of Syracuſe: a city that had reſiſted the whole force of Athens.

Diſcourſe like this muſt produce its effect, on a weak mind; and Dionyſius, no doubt, was ſtaggered: but he was ſtill more moved, by an intercepted letter of Dion to the chiefs of Carthage; in which he warned them not to conclude a treaty of peace with Dionyſius, unleſs he were preſent. Philiſtus had the art to place this letter in a hateful light; and the tyrant, reproaching Dion without hearing his defence, baniſhed him to Italy.

Dionyſius then took Plato to his palace; apparently to honour him, but really to place him under a guard. Still he ſincerely admired the wiſdom of this great man, often quarrelled with him, as often entreated forgiveneſs, and tormented him with tyrannical affection and boyiſh inconſtancy. At

laſt, a war broke out *, and he ſuffered him to depart.

Plato and Dion now lived long together, in Athens; where Dion purchaſed a country houſe, expanding his ſoul in the groves of Platonic wiſdom, and enjoying the calm of a country life. Here he was univerſally reſpected; and the Spartans preſented him with the right of citizenſhip, though they were the allies of Dionyſius, and had lately received aid of him againſt Thebes.

The honours conferred on Dion angered the tyrant, who revenged himſelf by withholding Dion's revenue; and, that he might ſhine in borrowed wiſdom, aſſembled philoſophers around him: but the ſtores of his memory were ſoon emptied, and he ſighed again for that ſource from which it had formerly been filled. Plato was entreated to return; and Dionyſius employed the intermediation of the wife Archytas, of Tarentum, and other Pytha-

* Plutarch does not tell us with what people. Diodorus informs us that Dionyſius made peace with Carthage at the beginning of his reign; which likewiſe differs from Plutarch. Probably the latter meant a war with the Lucani; which Dionyſius, after a time, but negligently proſecuted. Diod. l. xvi.

goreans.

goreans. The women of the princely houſe, Dion's wife and ſiſter, alſo wrote to Dion; that he might induce his friend to return to Syracuſe. Plato *, as he tells us, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded

'Οφρ' ἐτι την ὀλοην ἀναμετρησειε χαρυβδιν.
Od. xii. 428.

Once more undaunted on the ruin rode.
POPE, Od. b. xii. 525.

Dionyſius received him with much joy; and the Princeſſes in particular teſtified the honour and the friendſhip that were juſtly due to the Athenian ſage †, while in him every good citizen placed his hopes. The tyrant offered him great preſents, and Ariſtippus, of Cyrene, ſaid, in the preſence of Dionyſius,

* See the ſeventh letter of Plato.

† One of theſe Princeſſes no doubt was Theſte, the wife of Polyxenus and ſiſter of the elder Dionyſius. When her huſband fled, Dionyſius the elder reproached her with the knowledge of his flight. "Do you then "think me," ſaid ſhe, "ſo worthleſs and weak a woman "that, had I known his intentions, I would have re-"mained behind? or that I would not rather be called "the wife of the fugitive Polyxenus than the ſiſter of the "tyrant Dionyſius?" This courageous anſwer was taken in good part. PLUT. Life of Dion.

"his

" his generoſity did not coſt him much : for, " to thoſe who were in need, he would give " nothing ; but to Plato, who would take no- " thing, he offered every thing."

A ſcholar of Plato's predicted an eclipſe ; for which he was admired and rewarded by Dionyſius ; and Ariſtippus again obſerved, in a circle of the philoſophers, " I likewiſe can " predict ſomething very aſtoniſhing : for " Dionyſius and Plato will ſoon be foes." He was a true prophet : nor was any thing more neceſſary than the ſagacity of a courtier to foreſee this event. Plato ſoon became ſo troubleſome to the tyrant that he ſent him to his body guards ; hoping that they who hated him, as the enemy of tyranny, would put him to death.

When Archytas heard this, he ſent a galley and ambaſſadors to demand Plato : he having been his pledge : on which Dionyſius ſuffered him to depart, but beſtowed the wife of Dion on Timocrates.

Dion now determined to endeavour to overthrow the tyrant ; in which he was aſſiſted by various philoſophers of Greece. In theſe times the moſt powerful citizens thought themſelves flattered by the diſtin-

guiſhed

guiſhed and honourable title of philoſopher; or lover of wiſdom. Of the fugitive Syracuſians, whoſe number amounted to a thouſand, twenty-five only took part in this attempt.

The iſland of Zacynthus was the place where they were to aſſemble; and hither about eight hundred choſen warriors came, under different leaders, without knowing on what enterpriſe they were to proceed.

When Dion declared his intention, their courage ſunk. They conſidered the project as the frantic dream of a deſperado, and were angry with their leaders: but when Dion, in diſcourſe, explained how weak the ſupports of tyranny were, informed them that he did not conſider them as mercenaries but as leaders, with whom all Sicily would unite; and when Alcimenes ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe, he being a man of worth and family, one of the principal men of *Achaia*, and an aſſociate with Dion in the undertaking, they felt the courage of Greeks revive within them.

At the full of the moon, Dion conducted his armed companions to a temple of Apollo; where, having offered up a ſolemn ſacrifice, he gave them all a magnificent banquet. Here,

when they beheld his rich drinking veſſels of ſilver and gold, and contemplated the age of Dion, whom the aged themſelves reſpected, they no longer conſidered him as an adventurer; but as a man whoſe combinations were rational, and his hopes well founded.

It happened, during their libations, that there was an eclipſe of the moon; on which they were ſeized with new terror: but Miltas, the ſoothſayer, a philoſopher and a diſciple of the academy, roſe, and remarked that this omen was not inauſpicious to them, but to the duration and falſe ſplendor of tyranny.

Two tranſports, which carried the ſoldiers, a ſmall veſſel, and two galleys, each of thirty rowers, contained the whole force of Dion. With this he ſailed; taking weapons with him on which he could with certainty depend, that he might be able to arm at pleaſure. Having weathered the promontory of *Pachynus*, *Capo Paſſaro*, he was driven by a ſtorm that threw him on the coaſt of Africa: but he landed ſome days afterward in Sicily, at Minoa, in the Sicilian province of Carthage; the commander of which city was the friend of Dion, and with him Dion left his arms and ſtores, that they might be ſent to him at an appointed

appointed time. He was likewiſe joined by two hundred horſe, of the territories of Agrigentum and the Gelenſes.

Dionyſius being abſent in Italy, a meſſenger was ſent to him by Timocrates; on whom the tyrant had beſtowed the wife of Dion. The meſſenger loſt the letter, durſt not appear in the preſence of the tyrant, and Dionyſius did not hear, till late, of the deſcent of Dion in Sicily. In the mean time, Dion was joined by the Camarini, and many Syracuſians: while Timocrates, who guarded Epipolæ, was abandoned by the Leontini and the Campani. When Dion approached the city, he ſacrificed on the banks of the Anapus; where he was joined by five thouſand men, ſcantily armed, it is true, but full of courage.

He now entered Syracuſe, where he was met by the principal perſons in white robes; while the people plundered the houſes of the foes of freedom, ſome of whom were put to death, and Timocrates eſcaped on horſeback. Dion marched between his brother, Megacles, and the Athenian, Calippus, with their heads encircled with garlands: the herald proclaimed ſilence by ſound of trumpet, and then informed the people that Dion and

Megacles were come to give freedom to Syracuſe, and to all Sicily. The Syracuſians received him as a God, inveſted him and Megacles with the full power of the *Strategi*: αὐτοκράτορας Στρατηγὸς: and only at the expreſs interceſſion of both gave them twenty colleagues; ten of whom were fugitives, that had now returned with Dion.

Seven days afterward, Dionyſius arrived, in a veſſel, at the fortreſs which was built on the little iſland of Ortygia; the preſent Syracuſe; and ſent ambaſſadors to Dion: who ſent them to conſult the will of the people. Reconciliatory propoſals were made by Dionyſius, but were contemned; and Dion gave him to underſtand that no propoſal would be liſtened to, unleſs he would renounce the government.

The tyrant appeared to conſent; but, when ſome of the principal citizens were ſent to him, he bound them, and ordered his half intoxicated ſoldiers to attack the fortification of the beſieging citizens. Theſe were driven back by Dion's foreign warriors; while he himſelf, though ſomewhat feeble from age, threw himſelf amidſt the enemy. He was wounded in the hand, was preſſed upon by the ſoldiers, his

ſhield and helmet were transfixed by ſpears, he was thrown down, and, when his own ſoldiers bore him away, he ordered Timonides to take his place. He then mounted his horſe, rode round, brought the flying Syracuſians back to the combat, and, leading freſh forces againſt the enemy, drove them back into the citadel.

A herald now brought letters from the Princeſſes to Dion; and among them one the inſcription of which was HIPPARINUS TO HIS FATHER. Hipparinus was the name of Dion's ſon. Dion inſiſted that theſe letters ſhould be publicly read; though the Syracuſians were at firſt unwilling that the letter of a ſon to his father ſhould be read aloud: but they ſoon found that it was written by Dionyſius, and that its contents were full of the moſt envenomed artifice. Foreſeeing that this letter would be communicated to the people, Dionyſius celebrated the acts which Dion had performed in the ſupport of his tyranny; then threatened the lives of his wife, his ſiſter, and his ſon; and, what grieved Dion the moſt, adviſed him rather to be a tyrant himſelf than the deſtroyer of tyranny: alleging that he ought not to give freedom to thoſe men

whom, by ancient injuries, he had made his foes; and that, by reigning himſelf, he ſhould give ſecurity to his friends.

This was ſufficient to excite ſuſpicion in the people, againſt their ſaviour. The adherents of Dion, whom the tyrant had in his power, appeared to them as ſo many ſcourges; by whom their hands would ſoon be bound. They began therefore to look for another protector; and as Heraclides, one of the exiles, an experienced warrior but a turbulent ſpirit, who had before ſeparated himſelf from Dion in Peloponneſus, was coming againſt the tyrant with ten ſhips, they named him the commander of the fleet. This office was connected with the dignity enjoyed by Dion: he therefore roſe, and induced the Syracuſians to repeal their nomination. After which he reproached Heraclides for his conduct, aſſembled the people, and cauſed him to be reinſtated in the command of the fleet *.

New diſturbances afterward aroſe againſt Dion; and, the period of annual election to

* Ναυαρχον ἀπεδειξε τον Ἡρακλειδην. Ἀποδεικνυναι is often uſed with reſpect to the perſon under whoſe preſidency any officer was appointed by the people; as, when a conſul died, the ſurvivor aſſembled the people to appoint him a new colleague.

the

the chief offices being arrived, twenty-five *Strategi* were chosen: of whom Heraclides was one. The Syracusians tempted the foreign soldiers of Dion to desert him, by offering them the rights of citizenship: but they remained faithful, and conducted him out of the city. They injured no one; though they were assaulted by the people, whom they reproached for their ingratitude.

Dion, on this occasion, was obliged either to attack his fellow citizens, or suffer himself and his defenders to be slain. In vain did he stretch out his hands to the people: in vain he pointed to the citadel, filled with the enemy, who enjoyed this scene: yet, unable as he was to pacify the phrensy of the people, he forbade his followers to hurt them: and, merely with the shout of onset and the clashing of arms, he terrified the confused and cowardly mob, that ran through the streets supposing themselves pursued, though Dion and his foreign forces had retreated.

He now marched with his friends to Leontium; where he was received by the inhabitants with great honour, and his soldiers were granted the rights of citizenship.

Dionyſius, in the mean time, obtained ſome advantages over the Syracuſians; who, inconſtant as they were, ſuddenly changed their ſentiments, and ſent deputies to Leontium, that, weeping and falling at the feet of Dion, entreated him to return to Syracuſe. Calling together the Leontini, and many of the Peloponneſians who had accompanied him to Sicily, Dion led them to the theatre; where, when he began to ſpeak, tears prevented his utterance. At length, he collected himſelf, and thus addreſſed them:

"Men of Peloponneſus and confederates, I "have aſſembled you here that you may de- "cide for yourſelves: for it would ill become "me to aſk advice for my own ſake. If Sy- "racuſe muſt periſh, if I cannot ſave it from "deſtruction, I yet will haſten thither and "bury myſelf under its ruins. But, ſhould "you conſent to afford thoſe your aid who "are the moſt inconſiderate and unfortunate "of men, Syracuſe which is not yet fallen, "again will riſe. Should you on the contrary "angrily leave it to its fate, may the gods "reward you for the valour and the zeal "which you have teſtified to me! Accept the

"thanks

" thanks of Dion; who never did you injuſ-
" tice, but who cannot now abandon his un-
" fortunate fellow citizens."

He had ſcarcely ended when his followers roſe with a ſhout, and requeſted they might be led to Syracuſe.

The deſolation which the ſoldiers of the tyrant had ſpread through the city was the cauſe of the repentance of the people, and of the recal of Dion: but when, at the cloſe of night, the ſoldiers were driven back into the citadel, though with but little loſs, the herd of demagogues again appeared, harangued the people, warned them not to admit Dion, and exhorted them rather to owe the fame of their deliverance to themſelves than to Dion and his foreigners. Accordingly, the *Strategi* ſent to Dion, to forbid his approach: but the knights and principal citizens ſent likewiſe, entreating him to haſten his march.

In the mean time, the enemy from the citadel again aſſaulted Syracuſe; ſlaughtering the citizens, among whom they ſhot burning arrows; and the opinion of the people once more changed, in favour of Dion. Nay, Heraclides himſelf ſent, and ſupplicated him to come with all ſpeed.

Dion

Dion complied, ſent his light armed troops ſpeedily againſt the enemy, put the Syracuſians in martial array, appointed ſeveral leaders, then, calling on the Gods, marched againſt the enemy: and, as he paſſed the ſtreets, the onſet of war was mingled with reſounding praiſes, and ſhouts of joy. Dion was called a Saviour, and a God! and his followers citizens, and brothers! No one thought of himſelf, no one regarded his own life; but every idea, every ſenſation, turned toward Dion; who marched over heaps of the ſlain, through blood and flames, againſt the receding enemy.

The whole night was employed in extinguiſhing the flames of the city; and, at break of day, the demagogues were fled. Heraclides indeed delivered himſelf up to Dion; whoſe friends adviſed him to give up his enemy to the angry ſoldiers: but Dion declared it was not by power, or by cunning, but by juſtice and benevolence, that he would conquer Heraclides; and he ſet him at liberty.

During the night, while the citizens ſlept, Dion cauſed his foreign troops to dig a moat round the citadel. Friends and foes were aſtoniſhed at his activity; and Heraclides roſe, and propoſed that Dion ſhould be appointed

Commander in Chief, by land and ſea. The better citizens were intending to follow this advice, when a multitude of ſailors and artificers collected and bred a tumult: becauſe Heraclides, although they had no affection for him, was neceſſary to them; as a man that always favoured the people. On which, Dion ſuffered him to remain the commander of the fleet.

Thus empowered, Heraclides took advantage of the diſcontent of thoſe who imagined themſelves injured, by the participation which Dion had made of the lands and houſes. He accordingly ſailed to Meſſina, excited the anger of thoſe that were with him againſt Dion, and held a ſecret correſpondence with the tyrant, through the medium of the Spartan, *Pharax:* probably the ſame whom Diodorus calls *Pharacidas.*

Dionyſius, no longer able to remain in the citadel, where proviſions began to fail, left it; having obtained leave from Dion to withdraw. As he entered the citadel, Dion was met by his ſiſter, Ariſtomache, his diſgraced wife, Arete, whom the tyrant had obliged to marry Timocrates, and his ſon. Dion accoſted his ſon with tears, and received them all into his houſe:

houſe: giving up the citadel to the Syracuſians.

And now the eyes of Sicily, Carthage, and Greece, were all in reverence turned toward one man; who continued as diſcreet in his conduct, and as ſimple in his manners, as if he were ſtill converſing with Plato, in the academical groves; enquiring what is the appearance of things, and what their reality? Plato wrote to him that the eyes of the whole world were intent upon him: but, remembering the fickle diſpleaſure to which the Syracuſians were ſubject, he cautioned him to relax a little in his ſeverity *.

Heraclides found a new ſubject of accuſation againſt Dion, becauſe he had not deſtroyed the citadel; and becauſe he had ſent for coun-

* Ὥστε τὰς ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης, εἰ καὶ νεανικώτερον ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, εἰς ἕνα τοπον ἀποβλέπειν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα πρὸς σε.

"Becauſe the eyes of the whole world, exaggerated "as the expreſſion may ſeem, are turned toward one place; "and in that place principally to you."—And again: Ἐνθυμοῦ δὲ καὶ, ὅτι δοκεῖς τισὶν ἐνδεεστέρως τοῦ προσήκοντος θεραπευτικὸς εἶναι· μὴ ἂν λανθάνοιτο σε, ὅτι διὰ τὸ ἀρέσκειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὸ πράττειν ἐστίν· ἡ δ' ἀυθάδεια ἐρημίᾳ ξύνοικος. "Remem-"ber that, to ſome, you do not appear ſufficiently com-"plaiſant; and you muſt not forget that, if you would in-"fluence men, you muſt give them pleaſure. Self-love "reſides in ſolitude." *See the fourth letter of Plato.*

ſellors

ſellors to Corinth, thus deſpiſing his fellow citizens. True it was, he had invited ſome men from Corinth: hoping, by their aid, the better to reform the republic. Inſtead of a pure democracy, of which Plato ſo beautifully ſays it is not a conſtitution but the annual fair of all conſtitutions *, he intended to have introduced a mixed form of a republic; and, foreſeeing the difficulties which Heraclides would raiſe, he no longer reſtrained thoſe who long had wiſhed to put him to death, and Heraclides was murdered in his own houſe.

That this wicked man had frequently deſerved death there is no doubt†: but the pure

* Ὡς ἀ πολιτειαν, ἀλλα πανταπωλιον εσαν πολιτειων, κατα τον Πλατωνα. Theſe words are in the eighth book of the Republic of Plato. The whole paſſage is very remarkable, and deſerves to be read.

† There are at preſent very ſerious doubts entertained, by the wiſeſt and beſt men, whether any human being can deſerve death: that is, whether the happineſs of men can be promoted by putting thoſe who fall under their diſpleaſure to death.

The neceſſity of warning incautious readers, againſt too haſtily crediting bold aſſertions, is my motive for writing this note. There is indeed ſelf-evident contradiction in the author: for, if it were right to put Heraclides to death, pure virtue cannot be better employed than in doing that which is right. T.

virtue

virtue of Dion methinks ought not to have been ſullied by any participation in this affair.

From this time, Dion became frequently reſtleſs, melancholy, and deſirous of death. This he received from the hands of ſome of his Greek ſoldiers, who had been ſo devoted to him; and at the inſtigation of a man whom he had the more freely truſted becauſe of the great ſhare he had taken in his plan, for dethroning the tyrant. Calippus, the Athenian, was the man I mean; whoſe frantic ambition was the cauſe of this heinous act. At his inſtigation, Dion was murdered; and his wife and ſiſter thrown into priſon: where the firſt, being pregnant, was delivered of a ſon.

Calippus, for a time, was not only reſpected, but governed in Syracuſe; and had the audacity to boaſt of his crime, in a letter to the city of Athens: but, after a campaign, in which he endeavoured to conquer Catana, he loſt Syracuſe, and was killed at Rhegium.

The wife and ſiſter of Dion were ſet at liberty, and for a time protected, by Icetes, the Syracuſian: but, being perſuaded by the enemies of Dion to betray them, he put them on board a veſſel, under the pretence of ſending them to Greece, and they were murdered

on

on the paſſage, and thrown with the child into the ſea.

After the death of Dion *, Syracuſe was ſo torn and diſtracted by contention that Dionyſius, aided by a body of ſoldiers, again replaced himſelf in the tyranny. Misfortune had embittered his temper, and many could find no other refuge than Leontium; where Icetes then governed, who had ſo treacherouſly treated the kindred of Dion.

A powerful fleet from Carthage likewiſe landed in Sicily; which the Greek towns, exhauſted by wars, and ſwarming with Barbarians and men who had been ſoldiers, who had more to hope than fear from any change, were not in a condition to reſiſt. They therefore determined to aſk aid of Greece, and particularly of Corinth, the citizens of which had always teſtified ſo much hatred againſt tyrants, were incapable of being ſeduced under their rule, and who, by the great and famous wars they had waged, had maintained the freedom of Greece. Icetes durſt not oppoſe this determination; though he had a ſecret correſpondence with the Carthaginians, and doubtleſs intended to betray a part of his

* Plut. Life of Timoleon.

country

country to the Barbarians, that he might reign over the remainder.

No ſooner had the ambaſſadors related their griefs at Corinth than the citizens determined to ſend aid to Sicily; where their colonies had ever remained dear to them, and eſpecially Syracuſe; and Timoleon was appointed the leader of the ſuccours they ſent.

Timoleon was of noble birth, the ſon of Timodemus and Demariſte, mild in his temper, a hater of tyrants, and an ardent lover of his country. He had an elder brother, Timophanes, who was of a very different character. Raſh and turbulent in his propenſities, he had early been beloved by the people for being a daring youth; and, by his intercourſe with foreign ſoldiers, had imbibed an admiration of tyranny. Timoleon anxiouſly concealed his brother's failings, and knew how to place his beſt virtues in their beſt light.

It happened, in a battle againſt the *Argi*, where Timoleon fought on foot and Timophanes led the cavalry, that the horſe of the latter was wounded, and threw him among the enemy: on which his ſoldiers, being terrified, diſperſed; a few only remaining, and deſperately defending him againſt ſuperior numbers.

numbers. Timoleon, hearing this, haſtened to his aid, protected his brother with his ſhield, and ſaved him; after having driven back the aſſailants.

The Corinthians took a body of four hundred ſoldiers into pay, and gave the command of them to Timophanes; who, by the help of theſe foreigners, put many of the principal citizens to death, and ſeated himſelf in the tyranny. Timoleon was ſtruck to the ſoul to behold his brother ſtained with the blood of the citizens, and diſgraced by tyrannic power. In vain did he exhort, nay ſupplicate, him to renounce his crimes, and ſurrender the government. After a few days, he returned to him again; accompanied by Æſchylus, the brother-in-law of Timophanes, and a ſooth-ſayer, who was the friend of both. They all implored Timophanes to reform; but he at firſt laughed at them, and afterward grew enraged: on which Timoleon ſtepped on one ſide, wept, concealed his face, and his two friends drew their ſwords, and murdered the tyrant.

The principal citizens admired the noble nature of Timoleon; whoſe love for his bro-

ther had ceded to the love of juſtice, and of his country. Others, who ſecretly preferred tyranny to freedom, teſtified indeed an appearance of joy at the death of Timophanes, but repreſented the action of Timoleon as unnatural, and deteſtable. It afflicted him; and, when he heard of the anger of his mother, her bitter reproaches, the imprecations ſhe uttered againſt him, and, when he went to appeaſe her, found that ſhe avoided his ſight, and ſhut the doors to exclude him, he ſunk into ſuch a deep melancholy that, had it not been for the cares and entreaties of his friends who oppoſed his determination, he would have ſtarved himſelf to death. He renounced ſociety and public affairs, fled the city, and ſpent moſt of his life in wandering, ſolitary and overwhelmed by affliction, through the country.

About twenty years after the death of Timophanes, the people appointed Timoleon to the command in Sicily; and Teleclides, one of the moſt conſiderable citizens of Corinth, then aroſe and addreſſing him ſaid—"Shew "thyſelf now, oh Timoleon, to be a vigilant "and noble man! If thou fighteſt valiantly,

"we

"we ſhall conſider thee as the hater of a "tyrant: if not, as the murderer of thy bro-"ther."

While Timoleon was arming for the enterpriſe, letters were brought from Icetes; in which he informed the Corinthians that he did not need their aſſiſtance, for that, through their delay, he had found himſelf obliged to join the Carthaginians againſt Dionyſius; and that the powerful fleet of the Carthaginians would not ſuffer them to land.

Thoſe who had before been indifferent to this expedition now became indignant againſt Icetes; and the ſpur of zeal induced them to afford Timoleon every aid.

Proceeding firſt to Delphos, to ſacrifice to Apollo, it happened that, as he entered the temple, a garland, with which among others it was decorated, ſlipt down, and fell upon his head. This garland was interwoven with flowers, and figures of the Goddeſs of Victory: ſo that it appeared as if Apollo, himſelf, had crowned Timoleon for the undertaking.

He then put to ſea, with ten ſhips; and, as he approached the coaſt of Italy, he heard that Icetes had vanquiſhed Dionyſius in a battle, was in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Syra-

cuſe, and that he beſieged his enemy in the iſland of Ortygia, a part of the ancient city: having made an agreement with the Carthaginians that they ſhould keep off the ſhips of Corinth, and that he would divide Sicily with them.

Timoleon found twenty galleys of the Carthaginians in Rhegium, and ambaſſadors from Icetes; who repreſented to him that his ſhips would not be ſuffered to approach the ſhore, but that he himſelf would be welcome to Icetes, ſhould take part in all his councils, and ſhould ſhare in the ſucceſs of the war. Timoleon wore the ſemblance of being inclined to follow the advice of Icetes; but ſaid that it appeared to him to be right that they ſhould ſtate their mutual pretenſions, in the preſence of the citizens of a place that might be allied to them both; who therefore ought to be witneſſes of their proceedings. Acquainted with the treacherous intentions of Icetes and the Carthaginians, Timoleon indulged himſelf in this artifice: in the accompliſhment of which he was aided by the Chiefs of Rhegium; who dreaded nothing more than the neighbourhood of the Carthaginians. The people were aſſembled; and, while the Rhegini

gini were careful to amuſe them with long diſcourſes, the Corinthian veſſels ſailed away: and, when Timoleon was ſecretly informed that his galley waited for him and was the only one remaining in the haven, he glided away through the crowd.

He then ſet ſail, and landed at *Tauromenium:* the preſent *Taormina:* where he was kindly received by Andromachus, the Prince of that city. The Carthaginians in Rhegium diſcovered too late that they had been deceived; for which they were angry with the citizens: who, in return, teſtified amazement that deceit could offend a Carthaginian.

The Carthaginians now ſent to Andromachus: and their ambaſſador required that the Corinthians ſhould immediately depart. "If not," ſaid he, turning firſt the back and then the palm of his hand, "we will turn "your city topſy turvy with as much eaſe "as I turn my wriſt." The anſwer of Andromachus was a proper reproof to arrogance like this. With the ſame geſticulation he replied to the Carthaginian; and bade him begone, or he would treat him and his galley in the manner which he himſelf had threatened.

Icetes demanded more veſſels of the Carthaginians, for his aid; and the Syracuſians were terrified at ſeeing theſe enemies in their harbour, and at knowing that Timoleon and his handful of men were ſhut up in a town which was only connected with Sicily by a ſmall cape: for *Tauromenium* was built on the extreme point of the promontory of *Taurus* or *Toro*.

Neither did the other towns of Sicily confide in the aid brought them by Timoleon: in part becauſe it only conſiſted of a thouſand men, and in part becauſe, having formerly been betrayed by Pharax, or Pharacidas, the Lacedemonian, and Calippus, the Athenian, they knew not whether they might more ſecurely truſt in the Corinthians. Adranum was the only place that favoured Timoleon; and even this was divided by two parties: one of which declared in favour of Icetes, and the Carthaginians. As it happened, they both approached the place together: but Icetes had five thouſand men, and Timoleon only twelve hundred. The latter however was victorious; and Adranum opened its gates. After which Mamercus, tyrant of Catana, ſought his friendſhip; and Dionyſius himſelf

ſent

ſent to Timoleon, ſurrendered the citadel to the Corinthians, and took refuge in the camp of Timoleon: who ſent him to Corinth, where he ended his life as a private perſon.

Icetes ſtill continued to beſiege the citadel, though he no longer beſieged Dionyſius, and ſent two men from Syracuſe; who were to aſſaſſinate Timoleon: but his plot miſcarried. He likewiſe diſpatched meſſengers to Mago, the General of Carthage; who took poſſeſſion of the haven with a hundred and fifty ſhips, and ſtationed ſixty thouſand men in Syracuſe.

By the aid of ſmall veſſels, Timoleon, beſieged in the citadel, obtained proviſions from Catana: which place Mago and Icetes, with the flower of their fleet, ſailed to attack. However, they were quickly obliged to return: for Leo, the Corinthian, had taken that quarter of Syracuſe which was called Achradina; and which, except the ſmall iſland and the citadel, was the ſtrongeſt part of the city. Of this, not being able to recover it, they were obliged to leave the Corinthians in poſſeſſion.

A reinforcement was ſent to Timoleon, from Corinth, of two thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe: but they were long detained

in Italy, by Hanno, a General of the Carthaginians; who guarded the ſtraits with a fleet. Weary of waiting, Hanno employed a ſtratagem, decorated his crew with garlands after the Grecian manner, and his ſhips with Greek ſhields; hoping, by this artifice, to ſurpriſe the citadel of Syracuſe: inſtead of which, he ſuffered the Corinthians to eſcape, and join Timoleon; who, by their aid, took Meſſina, and marched with four thouſand men againſt Syracuſe.

He pitched his camp near that of the enemy: the Greek ſoldiers of which often mingled with the Corinthians, as they fiſhed for eels in the marſh near the city, with whom they entered into converſation. The Corinthians repeatedly reproached them for having ſold themſelves for the pay of Barbarians, and endeavoured to ſubject a Greek town to a tyrant. Mago became terrified with the fear of being betrayed by his ſoldiers; and, panic-ſtruck, led his army back to Africa: renouncing the conqueſt of Sicily: after which, Timoleon gained a ſplendid victory over Icetes, and remained maſter of Syracuſe.

He did not imitate Dion, in ſparing the

citadel; but invited the people to deſtroy this monument of tyranny. The city had been ſo waſted that, in many places, the horſes might graze while their grooms lay down in the graſs: for which reaſon Timoleon, in common with the people of Syracuſe, wrote to Corinth; requeſting that new inhabitants might be ſent from Greece. Many other towns were become the reſort of ſtags, and wild boars; and hunters ſettled in ſeveral of their ſuburbs: beſide which, the neceſſity of new inhabitants became the more preſſing becauſe that the Carthaginians, who had crucified the body of Mago after he had killed himſelf, were preparing for a new campaign.

When this letter was read in Corinth, its citizens afforded an example of juſtice, and magnanimity, which, while it deeply diſgraced the Athenians and Lacedemonians, redounded to their immortal honour. In poſſeſſion of the greateſt of all the Greek towns, the Corinthians did not appropriate Syracuſe to themſelves; which would have ſecured to them the conqueſt of Sicily; but ſent ambaſſadors to all the public games in Greece, and the cities where the people aſſembled; declaring that the Corinthians, having

driven

driven the tyrants from Syracuſe and ſet the city free, now invited all the diſperſed Syracuſians, and other Greeks that had fled from Sicily, to return; in the perfect aſſurance of living according to their own laws. They even ſent the ſame invitations to Aſia, and the iſlands to which moſt of the fugitives had retired; with the information that they would provide veſſels, and a ſafe convoy, at their own expence, for ſuch as ſhould deſire to return and ſettle again in Sicily. The people, thus invited, repaired from all parts to Corinth; and, with the addition of ſome Corinthians and other Greeks, at length completed the number of ten thouſand.

Many new ſettlers came likewiſe to Syracuſe, from other parts of Sicily and Italy. Timoleon ſhared the lands among them; and the poverty of the Syracuſians induced them to ſell their ſtatues: but not till they had firſt ſat in judgment over each: on which occaſion the ſtatue of Gelo was exempted, and preſerved.

Timoleon now was deſirous of giving freedom to all Sicily; and obliged Icetes to renounce his alliance with Carthage, and his government of the Leontini, and to promiſe

that he would diſmantle his fortreſſes. Leptines, the tyrant of Apollonia and other little towns, having ſurrendered to Timoleon, was ſent by him to Corinth. He then undertook, aided by Cephalus and Dionyſius, two Corinthians, to form a new conſtitution for Syracuſe; and likewiſe ſent two commanders into the territories of the Carthaginians, who ſet many of the towns free.

An army of ſeventy thouſand Carthaginians having landed at *Lilybæum*, under the command of Haſdrubal and Hamilcar, they marched againſt Syracuſe; and were met by Timoleon, with five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe. It was on this occaſion, as I have related in a former letter *, that he with wonderful preſence of mind turned what was thought a prognoſtic of death into an omen of victory, when he crowned himſelf with parſley.

Timoleon profited by the moment when the enemy were paſſing the river *Crimiſus*; when a thick fog favoured the ſmall army of the Corinthians, while a ſtorm of rain and hail diſcharged itſelf in the face of the Carthagi-

* See letter lxxxix.

nians,

nians, who were vanquiſhed and loſt above ten thouſand men, with their camp: in which the Corinthians found an immenſe booty.

Mamercus, the tyrant of Catana, and Icetes now formed a mutual alliance, with each other and with the Carthaginians; from whom they entreated new forces: and Geſcon, or Giſcon, was ſent with ſeventy ſhips, who took poſſeſſion of Meſſina, and killed four hundred of the ſoldiers of Timoleon, that lay there in garriſon.

Icetes, after having made conſiderable booty in the territories of Syracuſe, loſt a battle againſt Timoleon: who ſoon after, leading his army into the territories of Leontium, took Icetes, his ſon, and the commander of his horſe, priſoners; who were put to death. Timoleon then marched back to Syracuſe, where the people had condemned and executed the wife and daughter of Icetes. This act of injuſtice is a ſtain on the otherwiſe virtuous character of Timoleon: becauſe, according to Plutarch, had he interpoſed, it might have been prevented.

The Carthaginians aſked for peace, and the river Halycus was again the ſtipulated boundary.

dary *. Mamercus ſurrendered himſelf to Timoleon, on condition that he ſhould be judged by the Syracuſians, and that Timoleon ſhould not be the accuſer. When he addreſſed himſelf to the people, they evidently ſhewed that they were inexorable; and, ſuddenly riſing, he ran to daſh his head againſt a pillar: but, as he did not kill himſelf as he intended, he was executed like a common malefactor.

Having ſwept the iſland of tyrants and foreign foes, Timoleon obtained increaſing reſpect. Cities from which the terrified inhabitants had fled were again peopled; not only by the returning citizens, but by new ſettlers from Greece.

Among theſe cities were Agrigentum and Gela; and all of them conſidered Timoleon as their founder. Without him no treaty was concluded, no law promulgated, no co-

* Plutarch calls it *Lycus*, but Cluverius and Dacier read *Halycus*. Diodorus likewiſe calls this boundary river *Lycus*; and all the copies of this author agree in the ſame reading: but as the *Halycus* had been the boundary river before, and as I know of no *Lycus* among the rivers of Sicily, I conjecture that the name *Lycus* was a common abbreviation in the time of Diodorus of the word *Halycus*. Plutarch writes *Lycus* becauſe he found it ſo written in Diodorus.

lony

lony eſtabliſhed, nor any conſtitution planned. His maſter hand extended itſelf over all Sicily; imparting to each act a crown and a grace which characterized the genius of this hero: ſo that it was common, as Plutarch after Timæus obſerves, for people to apply the verſe of Sophocles to him, where the poet exclaims—

Ω' θεοι, τις αρα Κυπρις, η τις ιμερος
τηδε ξυνηψαλο;

Oh Gods; what Venus, or what Grace divine,
Has touched the work?

Two of the demagogues uttered various ſlanders againſt this great man; and, when the citizens were enraged at the demand of one, who required him to appear and plead to an indictment, he pacified them by obſerving he had encountered ſo many dangers only that the Syracuſians ſhould be free to accuſe: and, after having heard the diſcourſe of the other, he exclaimed—"I thank the Gods for having "granted my frequent requeſt: for I now ſee "the day when every man in Syracuſe is per-"mitted to ſpeak all that he thinks."

Timoleon never quitted the Syracuſians; but in his old age became blind, and the ſage

was

was then treated by them with the moſt heartfelt reſpect. His funeral was attended with extraordinary ſolemnity. The grateful citizens erected a monument to his memory; and near it a gymnaſium, for the exerciſe of their youth, which was called after him *Timoleontium*. He died in the fourth year of the 110th Olympiad, 335 years before Chriſt.

After the death of Timoleon, Syracuſe enjoyed a calm of twenty years. At leaſt we hear of no outrageous demagogues; whoſe reigning influence is no leſs hateful and indeed no leſs dangerous, to the citizen of worth and underſtanding, than the rule of a tyrant. If the character of the Syracuſians be ſcrutinized, who were as incapable of true freedom as they were impatient under ſlavery, it will greatly redound to the glory of Timoleon that the conſtitution he gave them continued for twenty years after his deceaſe.

In the fourth year of the 115th Olympiad, 315 years before Chriſt, Agathocles aſſumed the ſovereignty of Syracuſe*. He was the ſon of the potter Carcinus, from Rhegium: who himſelf ſettled at Thermæ, the preſent

* Diod. l. xix. vol. ii. p. 318.

Sciacca;

Sciacca; a town in the Sicilian territories of Carthage; and had Agathocles by a wife of that city.

Carcinus became a citizen of Syracuſe during the life of Timoleon; and Agathocles learned the trade of his father, who was poor and ſoon died. The youth gained riches by the moſt ſhameful voluptuouſneſs; and reſpect by his effrontery, which frequently is ſufficient to raiſe a man to notice under a democracy; and to conceal his real intentions if they happen, as was here the caſe, to be accompanied by ſhining talents. Nay how often do they ſucceed without any talents!

In a campaign againſt the Agrigentini, Agathocles was appointed the leader of a thouſand men; which command was given him by Damos, a general by whoſe ſubſtance he enriched himſelf. After the death of Damos, he married his wealthy widow. He then accompanied Heraclides and Soſiſtratus; who were the leaders of an army of Syracuſians, ſent in aid of the *Crotoniatæ* againſt the *Bruttii*. Theſe are both called by Diodorus bad men; and Soſiſtratus denied that reward to Agathocles which he believed his valour had deſerved.

ſerved. Agathocles accuſed him, but was not heard; and Soſiſtratus, after his return, found himſelf poſſeſſed of great power.

Agathocles and his dependants made an ineffectual attempt upon Croton, which was allied to Syracuſe. He then went to Tarentum, where he was received as one of the ſoldiers of this republic; but was afterward baniſhed, as a dangerous man. He next afforded aid to the Rhegini, which was beſieged by Heraclides and Soſiſtratus: ſoon after which Soſiſtratus was ſent into exile, and Agathocles returned to Syracuſe.

A war now aroſe between the fugitives, headed by Soſiſtratus, and the citizens. The Carthaginians took part with the former, and Agathocles gained honour in Gela; where his daring brought him into great danger, he having received ſeven wounds and eſcaped by united courage and caution. When he came back to Syracuſe, the Corinthian Aceſtorides, who had been choſen one of the Strategi, thought him dangerous, and commanded him to leave the city. Agathocles conjectured that Aceſtorides ſought his life: he therefore ſent one of his ſlaves, who was nearly of his own ſtature, armed like himſelf, clothed in his

garb, and mounted on his own horſe, out of the city; and eſcaped himſelf in a mean diſguiſe. He paſſed unmoleſted; but, in the darkneſs of night, the ſlave was miſtaken for him, and aſſaſſinated.

The Syracuſians once more received Soſiſtratus and the other fugitives, and made peace with Carthage; and Agathocles, at the head of a company of armed men, continued on the Mediterranean ſhores of the iſland: from which he occaſioned much vexation to Carthage, and Syracuſe. This produced his recall: but the Syracuſians made him ſwear, in the temple of Ceres, that he would undertake nothing againſt the democratic conſtitution.

He played the part of a zealous democrat; and, like moſt of the demagogues of the people, while he reviled the nobleſt and beſt citizens, he employed with art and plan the powers of popularity, that he might exerciſe the rapacity of a tyrant. Being appointed one of the Strategi, and guardians of peace, he approached the goal at which he aimed; and found no obſtacle in his way, except the Syracuſian council of ſix hundred: which conſiſted of the moſt reſpectable citizens.

Under the pretext of a trifling attack upon the

the revolters, he aſſembled three thouſand men from the heart of the country; who had formerly fought under his banners, and to whom he added numbers of people of the loweſt claſs. At break of day, he ſtationed them all in the *Timoleontium:* he then called on Piſarchus, and Decles; who took with them a company of forty friends, as a convoy.

Agathocles pretended that they were come to murder him, cauſed them to be ſeized, and complained that the ſix hundred wiſhed to kill him becauſe of his love to the people: who, hearing this, ſounded the trumpet of alarm, and commanded the ſoldiers to put the guilty to death, and to plunder the houſes of the ſix hundred and all their adherents.

The gates were ſhut, and the city as much afflicted as if it had been taken by the Carthaginians. The terror indeed muſt have been much greater, for it was more ſudden. The inſurgents aſſaſſinated, broke open houſes, pillaged, and indulged themſelves in every crime of cruelty and luſt. Above four thouſand citizens fell; nor did the temples afford them any ſafety. All hiſtory proves a truth, which our neighbours and enemies at preſent

place in a fearful light, and which Lichtwehr has ſo happily expreſſed:

Der fürchtet keine Götter;
Der keines menſchen ſchont.

Who fears not any God;
Who ſpares not any man.

Above ſix thouſand fled, and moſt of them to Agrigentum. After the maſſacre had continued two days, Agathocles addreſſed the people, congratulated them on having preſerved their freedom, and declared that now, after ſo great a work, he would renounce all office, and live among them like one of themſelves. On this, loud exclamations aroſe; calling on him to guard the good of all, and live for the welfare of his country. Thoſe who were moſt imbrued in the blood of the beſt citizens, and had enriched themſelves by their depredations, were the moſt clamorous; and he accepted, as if obliged to accept, the office of *Strategus:* but on condition that he ſhould have no colleagues; becauſe, as he alleged, he would avoid the danger which ariſes from participating in the guilt of thoſe who ſhould act contrary to the laws of their country.

country. Accordingly, the whole power, with this office, was committed into his hands.

He ſtill farther increaſed the number of his partiſans, by the remiſſion of debts, the diviſion of the lands, and by gifts, fair ſpeeches, and extraordinary condeſcenſion. He neither wore a diadem, nor maintained a body guard; but preſerved an open intercourſe with the citizens. The public revenues were adminiſtered by him carefully; ſhips were built, arms were forged, and the territories of Syracuſe were increaſed by the addition of ſome of the inland towns of Sicily.

Two years afterward, he took a fortreſs that belonged to Meſſina, laid a ranſom on it of thirty talents, and received the money: but, inſtead of giving up the place, marched againſt the city. He made peace however, and reſtored the fortreſs; becauſe the Carthaginians ſent to him, to complain of the injuſtice committed againſt Meſſina. From Meſſina, he went to *Abacænum*, an allied city; where he put about forty citizens to death.

The fugitive Syracuſians, who reſided in Agrigentum, exhorted the chiefs of that city rather to declare againſt Agathocles, before his power was increaſed, than to wait till he had

ſubjected them, as well as others, under the yoke. The Agrigentini felt the force of this argument, made an alliance with the people of Gela and Meſſina, declared war againſt Agathocles, and looked round them for a leader. They determined to chooſe a ſtranger, becauſe they dreaded the ambition of their own citizens, and ſent to Sparta; where they found Acrotatus, the ſon of Cleomenes, King of Lacedæmon, a very proper perſon to head their enterpriſe.

Without waiting for the conſent of the Ephori, Acrotatus ſailed, with a few veſſels, and was driven by a ſtorm to Italy: where, profiting by this circumſtance, he perſuaded the Tarentini to take part in the deliverance of Syracuſe, and they promiſed him twenty ſhips.

While the Tarentini were arming, he ſailed to Agrigentum; and there adminiſtered the affairs of government, as chief of the republic. The people at firſt cheriſhed great hopes of this man; but he fulfilled none of them, ſhewed himſelf tyrannical and debauched, and diſſipated the public revenues: partly by his bad adminiſtration, and partly by his treachery. He likewiſe baſely murdered Soſiſtratus, whom he

he had invited to a banquet; becauſe he dreaded the reſpect in which he was held. As ſoon as this action became public, the fugitives aſſembled; and would have ſtoned him, had he not fled back to Sparta, overwhelmed with diſgrace.

The Tarentini now recalled their veſſels; and the people of Gela and Meſſina, through the mediation of Hamilcar, made peace with Agathocles: on condition that, of the towns of the Greeks, Heraclea, Selinus, and Himera, ſhould appertain to Carthage; and that all the others ſhould live according to their own laws, but acknowledge the ſovereignty of Syracuſe*.

Agathocles now, ſeeing Sicily freed from foreign armies, conquered many towns. He likewiſe increaſed the ſoldier's pay: becauſe he foreſaw that the Carthaginians would be

* Panormus, Motya, and Solus, are not here in queſtion: becauſe theſe cities were of Phœnician origin, and would not be at enmity with the Carthaginians. Τας δ' ἀλλας πασας ἀυτονομους εἰναι, την ἡγεμονιαν εχοντων Συρακοσιων. I muſt remark that the word ſovereignty, which I have uſed, appears ſtronger to me than the Greek word, ἡγεμονια: but, be that as it will, hiſtory informs us that, whenever the cities of Athens or Sparta meant, by the word ἡγεμονια, to expreſs their authority over other States, this authority ſoon degenerated into deſpotic caprice.

diſſatisfied with the treaty made by Hamilcar, and would ſoon declare war. For this reaſon, he ſuddenly ſent an army into the territories of Meſſina; where he took many priſoners, becauſe they had received all the fugitives that had there taken refuge. The Meſſinians were diſconſolate, drove away the fugitives, and received Agathocles and his army into the city; who behaved with great complacency: but, after he had called together all the citizens of Meſſina and Tauromenium, who had oppoſed him, he cauſed ſix hundred of them to be ſtrangled.

He now intended to have marched againſt Agrigentum; but he heard that the Carthaginians had landed with ſixty ſhips, and had waſted the provinces of the Agrigentini; where he had taken ſome ſtrong places, and others had ſurrendered to him.

The fugitives, having choſen Dinocrates for their leader, entreated aid of the Carthaginians; and Dinocrates ſent a body of men by night into the town of the *Centuripini*, with ſome of whom he had a good underſtanding: but theſe troops were ſlain by Agathocles, who put ſuch of the *Centuripini* to death as had taken part with the fugitives.

A fleet

A fleet of fifty Carthaginian ſhips ſailed into the great harbour of Syracuſe: but here they effected nothing, except that they ſunk a tranſport that belonged to Athens, after they had chopped off the hands of the ſeamen. Soon afterward, ſome of their ſhips, on the coaſt of *Bruttium*, the lower Calabria, fell into the hands of the commanders of Agathocles; who retaliated their own cruelty upon themſelves.

Dinocrates, with five thouſand men, took poſſeſſion of the little town of Galaria; to which he had been invited by the citizens: but it was retaken by one of the officers of Agathocles, who put to death the chiefs of the party that had adviſed the revolt.

Agathocles, having time after time inſinuated ſoldiers into Gela, at laſt came in perſon, cauſed four thouſand of the citizens to be ſtrangled, obliged the remainder to deliver up all the coined and uncoined gold and ſilver, placed a garriſon in the city, and then marched againſt the Carthaginians.

He was overcome in a great battle, near the mountain Ecnomos, by Hamilcar; in which about five thouſand Carthaginians and ſeven thouſand of the army of Agathocles were

were ſlain: which induced him to burn his camp, and march back to Gela, and Hamilcar took poſſeſſion of many ſtrong places, and treated the inhabitants with kindneſs.

The people of Camarina, Leontium, Catana, Tauromenium, Meſſina, and Abacænum, declared for the Carthaginians. Agathocles returned to Syracuſe, ſtrengthened the walls, and provided the city with corn.

After their victory *, the Carthaginians were in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Sicily; and there was no appearance that Agathocles would be able to withſtand them, when he came to a determination as wiſe as it was daring, which deſerves the admiration of the lateſt poſterity.

Unaccuſtomed as the Syracuſians were to ſee an enemy before their walls, living in all the voluptuouſneſs of proſperity, ſurrounded by tribes whom it had been their practice ſeverely to oppreſs, they ſaw themſelves poſſeſſed of a country which was rich in every kind of production. Agathocles therefore perceived that the Carthaginians were enemies who muſt be grappled with in the heart of their own country, or they could not be

* Diod. l. xx.

driven

driven from the iſland, of the greateſt part of which they were now in poſſeſſion.

Agreeably to his habits, he debaſed the grandeur of this enterpriſe by cruelty, and fraud. He committed the adminiſtration of affairs in Syracuſe to his brother, Antandrus; and, as he did not think himſelf ſecure during his abſence, without appearing ſo to do, he took hoſtages with him: ſuch as a brother, or a ſon; leaving the other brother, or the father, behind. He borrowed money of the merchants, cauſed guardians to ſurrender the eſtates of minors, under the pretext of their being more ſecure, as he likewiſe did the ornaments of the principal women and the decorations of the temples, and, when ſeveral of the moſt wealthy citizens withdrew from Syracuſe, he ſent his ſoldiers in purſuit of them, cauſed them to be ſtrangled, and ſeized on their effects.

Sixty ſhips were armed; and Agathocles waited for a favourable moment, at a time when no one knew his intentions. Some imagined he would attack the Sicilian provinces of Carthage; others that he was projecting a deſcent on Italy; and, to all, his actions appeared to be thoſe of a madman.

The fleet of the Carthaginians for a time prevented him from ſailing; but the chace of the enemy, after ſome tranſports, gave him an opportunity of leaving the haven, with all his force. The Carthaginians ſuppoſed his intention was to aid the tranſports, and ſlackened ſail in order to give him battle: but, when they ſaw him ſail into the open ſea, and perceived that he had already got to a conſiderable diſtance, they followed in purſuit; and would have overtaken him, had not the night intervened.

After a paſſage of ſix days, on the dawn of the ſeventh, the Sicilian mariners beheld the fleet of the enemy on their back, and the coaſt of Africa before them. The oars now were plied with unrelaxing efforts. Should the Carthaginians come up with and conquer them, Sicily would be loſt, and they anticipated the moſt cruel ſlavery. Accuſtomed to the exerciſe, the Carthaginians rowed the faſteſt: but the Greeks were neareſt the ſhore. The arrows however of the leading veſſel of Carthage could reach the laſt of the ſhips of Agathocles; who notwithſtanding landed, and the Carthaginians caſt anchor about an arrow-ſhot from the coaſt.

Having

Having aſſembled his army, Agathocles ſacrificed to Ceres and Proſerpine; and, clothing himſelf in a ſplendid robe and placing a garland on his temples, he declared that, while purſued by the Carthaginians, he had made a vow to offer up the ſhips to Ceres and Proſerpine; the guardian Goddeſſes of the iſland. The ſacrifice was the prognoſtic of victory, and they might boldly burn their fleet; for, having conquered, better ſhips would be in their power.

On this a torch was brought to him and to each commander of a galley. Agathocles placed himſelf at the ſtern of his veſſel, his example was followed, the flames roſe, the trumpet ſounded, and the ſhores echoed with the ſupplicatory vows of the army for their ſafe return.

By this daring action, Agathocles gained two advantages. Had he not deſtroyed the ſhips, he muſt have divided his forces: otherwiſe they would have fallen into the hands of the enemy: and to divide his forces was not only to weaken his numbers but to give the ſoldiers hopes that, if they could not conquer, they might fly, and again reach home. At preſent, victory was their only truſt.

The enthuſiaſm of the Sicilians began to expire with the expiring flames: but Agathocles gave them no time for the repentance to which they were prone. He led them into the territories of a place called the great city: Μεγαλη Πολις: the Punic name of which, if I do not miſtake, is unknown. Here they were cheered by the proſpect of the ſmiling plains; where plenty of every kind gladdened the eyes and animated the hopes of the army. Vineyards, orchards, corn fields, flocks, well watered paſtures and meadows, magnificent country houſes, and the city itſelf, invited them to fall on and plunder.

Agathocles commanded them to attack the city; which he conquered, ſtripped, enriched the ſoldiers with its booty, and thus inſpired them all with courage. He ſoon afterward took poſſeſſion of another place; which Diodorus calls the white *Tynes;* and in both of theſe he left garriſons.

The mariners of Carthage had contemplated the flaming fleet of the Syracuſians as a charming ſpectacle: but they ſoon recollected what might be the conſequences, hung ſkins over their ſhips, according to the cuſtom of that people, to denote that their country was in danger,

danger, and ſent meſſengers to Carthage to relate the whole occurrence as it had happened. They likewiſe took the iron prows of the veſſels that were burnt.

The meſſengers found Carthage in the utmoſt conſternation; for the country people had already announced the preſence of the enemy, and it was imagined that their whole army muſt have periſhed in Sicily: otherwiſe Agathocles would not have dared to have made ſuch an attack.

Diſſatisfied with their generals, the Carthaginians appointed Hanno and Bomilcar to the command; men who cheriſhed an inherited hatred againſt each other, but from whom it was hoped that their private griefs would have been ſacrificed to the public good. Not giving time to collect people from the neighbouring country, theſe leaders immediately armed forty thouſand citizens, a thouſand horſe, and two thouſand chariots of war; and were met by Agathocles with a ſmall army of about fourteen thouſand men.

Agathocles had concealed many owls, and theſe he now ſuffered to fly about the camp. Theſe birds, which are confuſed by the light of day, fluttered blindly around: ſome of them alighting

alighting on the ſhields and others on the helmets of his warriors; who conſidered this as an excellent omen, and that Pallas herſelf, by her ſacred bird, announced to them the victory. Accordingly the Carthaginians were defeated, and the victor took poſſeſſion of their camp.

An order was ſent to Hamilcar from Carthage, demanding immediate aid; as likewiſe were the iron prows of the Syracuſian fleet. Hamilcar commanded the meſſenger to conceal the truth, and ſpread the report in the camp that the whole fleet of Syracuſe and the army had periſhed. He cauſed the falſehood to be told to the Syracuſians, ſummoning them at the ſame time to ſurrender their city, and as a proof ſhewed them the iron prows. The ſtory was generally believed; but the chiefs of Syracuſe doubted, and aſſembled thoſe who were diſſatisfied with their government, as well as their friends and relations, and ſent them out of the city. Syracuſe now reſounded with wailings, not only for the deſtruction of the army but for thoſe who were driven from its walls; to which the enemy was approaching, and no ſaviour was near. The number of the fugitives was about eight thouſand;

thouſand; and, as they had no other place of refuge, they fled to the Carthaginians; who received without doing them injury.

Hamilcar led his army immediately againſt Syracuſe, that he might profit by the preſent confuſion of the city: however he once more ſent to demand its ſurrender, and promiſed ſafety to Antandrus and his adherents. Antandrus was inclined to comply; but Erymnon, the Ætolian, whom Agathocles had appointed as the colleague of his brother, oppoſed this proceeding and refuſed to yield, till Hamilcar ſhould demonſtrate the truth of his relation.

Hamilcar was preparing his machines of war when Nearchus, one of the friends of Agathocles, arrived in a veſſel. He had approached Syracuſe by night, and attempted to enter in the morning, his men crowned with garlands and ſinging the Io Pæan of victory. The guard-ſhips of the Carthaginians perceived him, and purſued: and the people from the city and from the camp of the Carthaginians ran to the haven. The Barbarians ſhouted; the Syracuſians, who could afford their fellow-citizens no aid, offered up their vows; and an enemy's ſhip had almoſt over-

taken Nearchus, at the very moment that his veſſel arrived near enough to be protected by the arrows of his countrymen.

Remarking that the whole attention of the city was directed toward the haven, Hamilcar loſt not a moment, but cauſed ladders to be raiſed againſt the walls; and his men had nearly got poſſeſſion of a place, between two towers, when the uſual patrole paſſed that way and gave the alarm. The Carthaginians were then driven down; and the afflicted Hamilcar withdrew from Syracuſe, and ſent five thouſand ſoldiers to Africa.

Agathocles was now poſſeſſed of *Tynes*, or Tunis, had taken many ſtrong holds and ſome towns, and had gained a battle over the Carthaginians. Hamilcar, having once more renewed his attack upon Syracuſe, in conſequence of a mutiny that roſe in his army, was vanquiſhed, taken, and, after the Syracuſians had reviled and tormented him in the moſt barbarous manner, put to death; and his head was ſent to Agathocles. The beſieging army then divided: the Carthaginians retired with their leaders, and the fugitives and other Greeks went with Dinocrates.

The Agrigentini imagined they now ſaw a favourable

favourable opportunity to obtain the command of all Sicily; Agathocles being employed in the territories of Carthage, Dinocrates and his fugitives not to be feared, and Syracuſe, ſuffering under the want of proviſions, in no condition to contend for pre-eminence. To theſe motives they rationally added the hatred of the towns againſt the Carthaginians: and the deſire that they had to live according to their own laws. They therefore appointed Xenodocus their general, gave him a conſiderable army, and he poſſeſſed himſelf of Gela. The Gelenſes, glad of this much deſired freedom, ſupported the enterpriſe of the Agrigentini. The hopes of liberty filled every town: Enna opened its gates to the Agrigentini, and was freed. Camarina and Leontium were ravaged by the ſoldiers that had been left behind by Agathocles; and to them Xenodocus marched, freed them from their oppreſſors, and likewiſe delivered ſeveral places from the fetters of the Carthaginians.

When the head of Hamilcar was brought to Agathocles, he rode near enough to the camp of the Carthaginians for them to hear him, ſhewed them the head of their general, and related the defeat of their companions.

And now, when his fortune appeared to have attained its ſummit, he fell into great danger. Lyciſcus, one of his moſt valiant chiefs, whom he had invited to a feaſt, being heated with wine ſpoke bitterly againſt Agathocles; who, as he honoured the merit of the man, took it in good part: but his ſon, Archagathus, was angry; and, as Lyciſcus uttered ſarcaſtic reproaches againſt him, he was ſtabbed by Archagathus. The ſoldiers ran together, flew to arms, demanded the delivery of Archagathus, and threatened Agathocles with death, ſhould he refuſe.

The Carthaginians, learning the cauſe of this mutiny, ſent perſons to excite the army to revolt. Many of the leaders promiſed to follow this advice: but Agathocles threw off the purple, leapt among the ſoldiers as one of themſelves, harangued them, and threatened to put himſelf to death. The feeling of the army now changed: he was pronounced free, and once more requeſted to aſſume the garb of general.

The Carthaginians meanwhile expected that the army would go over to them; and, when Agathocles led his ſoldiers againſt them, they imagined they beheld deſerters, not enemies, till

till he ordered the trumpet to ſound the onſet. Many of the Carthaginians were ſlain; and thoſe in the army of Sicily that had taken part with them went over to them, about two hundred in number.

The Carthaginians had marched into Numidia; partly with an intention to make new conqueſts, and partly to chaſtiſe the revolted; whither they were followed by Agathocles with about nine thouſand men, and he there obtained a new victory.

Anxious to omit nothing that might anſwer his purpoſe, Agathocles ſent to Ophellas; a Greek, who had fought under Alexander, and who now governed Cyrene, a Greek colony of Africa; whom he invited to become his ally, and tempted him by the conqueſt of Libya and Carthage. Ophellas gave ear to theſe arguments, and ſent to Athens, demanding aid in this enterpriſe; and many of the Athenians, and other Greeks, were the more eaſily induced to comply becauſe their country, after many wars, was much troubled.

Ophellas began his march with ten thouſand well-armed troops; and as many more leſs orderly, who, bringing with them their wives and children, gave the army the appearance

of a colony. He was alſo followed by chariots, and horſemen: but they had a very difficult march through the Libyan deſerts; and, after a journey of two months, arrived at the army of Agathocles. Ophellas was received with every token of friendſhip and gratitude, his army provided with neceſſaries, and he was adviſed by Agathocles to give his weary ſoldiers refreſhment.

After a few days, when the greateſt part of the army of Ophellas was foraging, Agathocles harangued his ſoldiers, accuſed Ophellas of having under the appearance of an ally endeavoured to ſupplant him, enraged them, and led them againſt the Cyreneans. Ophellas made efforts to defend himſelf; but he had few troops near him, and was murdered. When this was accompliſhed, Agathocles put an end to the battle; promiſed great things to the Cyreneans, and won over the whole army without ſharing the command with an ally whom he had thus ſcandalouſly betrayed.

At the very time that Agathocles was committing this cruel act, Bomilcar was eſtabliſhing himſelf a tyrant. Each was ſo intent on his own plan that he overlooked the proceedings of the other. Had the Carthaginians

fallen

fallen upon the camp of the Sicilians, when the latter attacked the Cyreneans, by affording the Cyreneans aid, they would probably have overthrown Agathocles. And had Agathocles attacked Carthage, when it was diſtracted with tumult and terror by the daring ambition of Bomilcar, he would have found very little reſiſtance.

Bomilcar muſtered his army in the new town, which was built near Old Carthage, and gave many their diſmiſſion; and, with five hundred citizens, who entered into his plan, and four thouſand ſoldiers, he proclaimed himſelf Sovereign. He marched his army into the town in five diviſions, and ſtrangled all who offered oppoſition. During the firſt confuſion, the Carthaginians imagined that the town was betrayed to the enemy; and, when they underſtood the truth, the young men armed againſt Bomilcar; while he cauſed the citizens to be ſtrangled in the ſtreets, and in the public place. At length meſſengers were ſent, and pardon was offered to the revolters; and Bomilcar and his adherents muſt have been in deſpair of ſucceſs, for they laid down their arms. The promiſe was kept with the other inſurgents; but Bomilcar,

in defiance of an oath, was put to death after a ſhameful and tormenting manner.

Agathocles took much booty, and ſent thoſe of the Cyreneans whom he did not think proper for war on board of tranſports to Syracuſe: but, a ſtorm overtaking them, ſome of them were loſt, others were caſt on the Pithecuſian iſlands, Iſchia, Capri, and Procida, and but few arrived at Syracuſe.

When Agathocles heard that the ſucceſſors of Alexander, Antigonus, Demetrius, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lyſimachus, and Caſſander, had aſſumed the regal title, he likewiſe proclaimed himſelf a King.

He then marched againſt Utica, which had revolted from him, and took three hundred priſoners before the town. After this, he required the inhabitants to ſurrender, and promiſed forgetfulneſs of the paſt: but, as they would not give up the town, he cauſed a large war machine to be built, on which he placed the priſoners and with them the catapultæ, ſlingers, and throwers of javelins; ὀξυβέλεις; and thus placed the beſieged under the wretched neceſſity of diſcharging their miſſiles at their friends, if they would maintain their freedom. Utica fell into his power, and its ſtreets were

filled

filled with murder: nor were thoſe who took refuge in the temples ſpared. He likewiſe took Hippoacra; and was now in poſſeſſion of nearly the whole coaſt together with the inland countries of Libya, Numidia excepted.

Thus powerful in Africa, he ſtill had his cares concerning Sicily, built veſſels, and embarked accompanied by two thouſand men, leaving the command of the army to his ſon.

His generals had lately overcome Xenodocus; and the Agrigentini had renounced the noble project of giving freedom to Sicily, when Agathocles arrived at Selinus. Heraclea was once more conquered by him; and after that, on the north of Sicily, *Thermæ Himeranſes*, or Termini, and *Cephalædium*, or Cefalu. He next marched againſt *Centoripa;* into which he gained admiſſion by treachery, but was afterward repulſed with the loſs of five hundred men. He then took Apollonia, ſtrangled moſt of the citizens, and gave up the place to plunder.

Dinocrates, the leader of the fugitives, now took upon him to maintain the freedom of Sicily; after the plan had been renounced by the Agrigentini. Many perſons joined him; and he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of an

army, of nearly twenty thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, which was chiefly compoſed of men whom war and misfortune had ſteeled againſt every hardſhip. Agathocles, with a much inferior force, dared not give battle though it was offered by his opponent, but ſaw himſelf cloſely purſued, and now experienced a reverſe of that fortune which he had hitherto found ſo favourable.

At firſt, his ſon Archagathus and principally the ſubordinate general Eumachus, who had conquered many towns and countries, were every where ſucceſsful: but, when the Carthaginians ſent thirty thouſand men againſt their foe, Archagathus having divided his army into three parts, Æſchrion a Syracuſian leader was defeated by Hanno with four thouſand men: and of eight thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe, that were commanded by Eumachus, after a victory gained over him by Himilco, only thirty foot and forty horſe eſcaped. Archagathus retreated to Tynes; in which place he was ſhut up by Himilco, and Atarbas, or Adherbal, and began to feel famine.

Agathocles heard of the dangerous ſtate of his African affairs, at the time that he was preſſed by the continually increaſing

power

power of Dinocrates in Sicily; and, reſigning the command of his army to Leptines, he watched for a favourable opportunity of ſailing to Africa: for there was a fleet of thirty Carthaginian ſhips that ſtood off Syracuſe. In a fortunate moment, eighteen veſſels ſent by the Tyrrheni arrived to his aid, and ran into port by night. Agathocles planned a ſtratagem with the Tyrrheni, ſailed with ſeventeen ſhips into the open ſea, and, while he was purſued by the Carthaginians, the Tyrrheni left the harbour. Agathocles then turned upon his enemy; and the Carthaginians, finding themſelves between two fleets, were defeated; and loſt five of their veſſels, with the men they contained. Their general ſlew himſelf at the moment that his ſhip, though it eſcaped, was in imminent danger of being taken by the enemy.

Leptines, at the command of Agathocles, marched againſt Agrigentum, where he gained a victory over Xenodocus; and Agathocles, after his victory over the Carthaginians, being lord of the ſea, could now ſend proviſions for his troops in Africa.

Before he departed in perſon, he ſacrificed to the Gods for his victory; and frequently invited

invited the principal citizens of Syracuſe to banquets. As he was naturally witty and jocular, he was on occaſions like theſe exceedingly ſocial. By ſuch means he won the good-will of many, and founded the opinions of many more, whoſe hearts were opened by wine. After he had in this manner proved the ſentiments of a great number, he invited five hundred of the principal people among them, cauſed them all to be maſſacred at his table, and then ſet ſail for Africa.

Here he found his army in a melancholy condition; and, it appearing to him neceſſary very ſoon to give battle, he was overcome with the loſs of three thouſand men. On the following night, when the Carthaginians were ſacrificing the moſt beautiful of their priſoners to the Gods, a fire broke out in their camp; and with the fire diſorder. Many were conſumed by the flames; and the confuſion was become general when five thouſand African ſoldiers, from the army of Agathocles, intending to go over to the Carthaginians, were by them miſtaken for enemies. Unprepared and diſordered, they all took to flight. Many miſtook their friends for foes; and the miſtake being mutual they mutually killed

killed each other. The deſerters, terrified by fire and the cries they heard, marched back; and the army of Agathocles, imagining itſelf attacked by the Carthaginians, was thrown into the ſame blind confuſion that had firſt occurred in the army of the Barbarians; and four thouſand men were in this manner ſlain.

All the Africans now revolted from Agathocles; who ſeriouſly began to conſider how he could quit the country: but he was in want of ſhips, the Carthaginians were lords at ſea, and he knew they would not make peace with him, but that they would endeavour to terrify others by his example from ſuch an enterpriſe in future. He therefore determined to take his youngeſt ſon, Heraclides, and a choſen troop, and ſecretly ſail to Sicily: thus treacherouſly leaving Archagathus and the army behind. Among other motives, he was induced to this by the dread that his eldeſt ſon, whom as it appears he juſtly ſuſpected of a forbidden intercourſe with his ſtepmother, would join with her in ſome plot that would bring him into danger. Cicero tells us * that the elder Dionyſius made his daughters ſhave him, becauſe he durſt not truſt a barber: nay

* Tuſcul. v. 20.

that

that he even miſtruſted them, took the razor from them, and taught them the art of ſingeing away his beard, as it grew, with hot walnut ſhells. Agathocles could truſt neither wife nor ſon; and the latter, remarking his father's intention *, publicly declared it to the generals, the generals to the ſoldiers, and the tyrant was ſeized and bound.

Meanwhile a rumour was ſpread that the enemy was approaching: the ſoldiers in diſorder left the camp, and the guards of Agathocles marched out with their priſoner. The ſight of him inſpired ſome of the people with compaſſion, they ſet him at liberty, he got on board a boat by night, and thus left the army with his two ſons; who were both put to death by the ſoldiers.

Six leaders were then choſen, and a peace was concluded with the Carthaginians: the conditions of which were that the conquered towns ſhould be returned to them, but that thirty talents ſhould be given to the Sicilians, who ſhould be taken to Solus in the Sicilian province of Carthage: thoſe excepted who ſhould be inclined to enter the Carthaginian ſervice. Theſe conditions were obſerved to

* Diod. lib. xx.

thoſe

thoſe who kept their word: but others, who expected aid from Agathocles, endeavouring to keep poſſeſſion of the towns, were obliged to ſurrender, their general was crucified, and they were condemned in fetters to till thoſe lands that they before had waſted.

Agathocles having arrived in Sicily, he aſſembled an armed force, and marched to Egeſta; a town with which he was in alliance; where he obliged the inhabitants to give him the greateſt part of their money. This excited loud murmurs; and he cauſed the pooreſt citizens to be driven out of the town to the river Scamandros, where they periſhed. The rich and the principal people, men and women, he tortured in a variety of manners; ſome of which were of his own invention. He took a particular pleaſure in placing tiles upon the bodies of pregnant women, ſo as to cruſh the fruit of their womb. Inſtead of the brazen bull of Phalaris, he invented an iron bed which was hollowed in the form of a man. Each member was impriſoned by a bolt; and fire was then placed under the bed. Thus he exceeded the ingenuity of Phalaris: for, by this means, he could

could contemplate the countenance and pangs of the tortured.

When he heard of the murder of his ſons, being unable to revenge himſelf on the perſons of the murderers, he ſent ſome of his adherents to his brother Antandrus in Syracuſe; with a command to put all thoſe to death who were any way akin to the men who had made the campaign in Africa. This order was executed by Antandrus to its utmoſt extent: not only ſons, brothers, and fathers, but grandfathers, children in arms, women, all who were in the moſt diſtant degree related either by blood or by marriage with any of the warriors of Africa, were murdered on the ſea ſhore. Nor did any one dare to bury the bodies, terrified leſt they ſhould excite the rage of the monſter.

Agathocles continued to march from town to town, fortifying and extorting money from each, till his general, Paſiphilus, revolted from him, and went over to Dinocrates.

And now the courage of the tyrant was ſo ſunk that he propoſed to make peace with Dinocrates: offering that the latter ſhould return to Syracuſe, which city ſhould be free, and only

only demanding for himself *Therma*, or Termini, and *Cephalœdium*, or Cefalu, with their territories*.

The tyrant was now so enfeebled that Dinocrates refused these conditions. Diodorus says he thirsted after the sovereignty of Syracuse, and felt himself strong: being at the head of twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse.

Agathocles made peace with the Carthaginians, who received back all their towns and gave him three hundred talents, and two hundred thousand measures of wheat.

At the head of five thousand foot and eight hundred horse, he attacked Dinocrates; whose numbers were what I have before stated: but as some thousands deserted from him to Aga-

* Diodorus says *Therma*, without distinguishing which. *Thermæ Himerenses* is the present Termini. *Therma Hydata* (warm water) is Sciacca; and this was the native place of Agathocles. But Termini and Cefalu are only half a day's journey from each other; and the lands of these towns joined: so that there can be no doubt which Therma Diodorus meant. Probably Agathocles chose these towns that he might be able to attack the neighbouring territories of Carthage. Add to which, Cefalu was strong, nay even unconquerable, from its situation, and had a good haven.

thocles during the battle, it was won by the latter.

A part of the beaten army, having retired to a hill, came to a treaty with the tyrant: but, as ſoon as they had laid down their arms, they were all ſurrounded and maſſacred. According to ſome four thouſand, and according to Timæus ſeven thouſand, periſhed in this manner. The remaining fugitives he received in his army, and even reconciled himſelf to Dinocrates; who, till the hour of his death, a ſpace of ſixteen years, was entruſted by him in the weightieſt affairs. That Dinocrates could confide in, or could gain the confidence of the tyrant, is a riddle which hiſtory has not expounded. Paſiphilus, who was ſeized and ſtrangled by Dinocrates, was the firſt ſacrifice to this alliance.

Agathocles ſailed to the Lipari iſlands; from which, without the ſmalleſt pretext, he extorted fifty talents. He obliged the inhabitants to give him the money which was preſerved in their *Prytaneum*, and conſecrated partly to Vulcan and partly to Æolus. Eleven of the ſhips that contained the plunder foundered, on their paſſage; and the people were confirmed in the opinion, which probably the

fiction

fiction of Homer had inſpired, that Æolus ruled the winds.

As the twentieth book of Diodorus is the laſt which is complete, and as only ſome imperfect remains of the following books are extant, little is known of the latter part of the reign of Agathocles. He had it in contemplation a ſecond time to attack Carthage, when he determined to name his ſon Agathocles as his ſucceſſor *. He therefore ſent him to the country of Ætna, with letters to his nephew, Archagathus, ſon of the Archagathus who fell in Africa, who was at the head of the army, ordering him to reſign the command of the army and the fleet.

Archagathus, having made his uncle drunk, cauſed him to be murdered; and at the ſame time wrote to one Menon to put his grandfather to death. This Menon had been brought from Egeſta, by Agathocles; and had obtained great promotion, becauſe of his beautiful form: but he nurtured the deepeſt reſentment in his heart, againſt the tyrant, for the cruelty he had exerciſed in Egeſta; and killed him by the means of a poiſoned toothpick.

Thus was Sicily delivered from this deſpot;

* Diod. Ἐκλογαι, vol. ii. p. 491. ed. Weſſ.

who had reigned twenty-eight years, and lived to the age of ſeventy-two. He died in the fourth year of the 122d Olympiad, 287 years before the birth of Chriſt; murdered, at the inſtigation of his grandſon, by the hand of his favourite.

Menon put Archagathus to death by artifice, gained over the army, and endeavoured to ſeize the government. The Syracuſians ſent Icetes againſt him, the Strategus whom they had choſen: but, Menon being favoured by the Carthaginians, they found themſelves obliged to conclude a peace, give the Carthaginians four hundred hoſtages, and to receive the fugitives. The foreign mercenaries afterward occaſioned a tumult, becauſe they were not held capable of enjoying the dignities of the republic; and at length it was agreed that they ſhould be permitted to ſell their effects, and depart from Sicily. Theſe wanderers were kindly received by the people of Meſſina, whom they ſlaughtered during the night, and ſeized on the women and the city *. They were *Campani*, and called themſelves *Mamertini*; after Mars, the god of war, whoſe name among the Carthaginians was *Mamers*.

* Diod. Ἐκλογαι, vol. ii. p. 493.

Not

Not ſuffered to enjoy themſelves in undiſturbed repoſe, the Syracuſians were haraſſed by Carthage, and ſent ambaſſadors to Pyrrhus *, the King of Epirus; who had marched to aid Tarentum againſt the Romans, and who, after two ſplendid but bloody victories, ſuffered a defeat, and was intending to return; when two different projects excited the enterpriſing ambition of this conqueror. He learned from Greece that Ptolemy, ſurnamed Ceraunus, had fallen in a battle againſt the Gauls; who had overrun Macedonia and Illyria: and the hope that he might ſeat himſelf on the throne of the man whom he imitated, and to whom he was related, the great Alexander, was flattering.

On the other part, he had long deſired the conqueſt of Sicily. He might indeed very probably be received as the ſucceſſor of Agathocles, in Syracuſe; for he had married his daughter, Lanaſſa: though ſhe had deſerted him, for Demetrius Poliorcetes. Pyrrhus had already conceived his campaign in Italy when he was warned by Cineas, his ſage counſellor and friend, of the power of the Romans; who

* Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

were a warlike people, and who governed many armed nations. "Should ſome god," ſaid he, "aſſiſt us to conquer theſe Romans, "of what advantage will this victory be?

"Of what advantage, Cineas? None of the "Barbarian towns, nor any of the Greek cities "in Italy, would then be able to reſiſt us. "We ſhould be in poſſeſſion of all Italy!"

"And what," after a ſhort pauſe ſaid Cineas, "ſhall we do, when we have con-"quered Italy?"

Not remarking to what the queſtions of Cineas led, Pyrrhus replied, "Sicily, that fortu-"nate and populous iſland, will reach out her "hand an eaſy conqueſt! Since the death of "Agathocles, every thing there has been in "confuſion; ſubjected to the anarchy and "phrenſy of the demagogues."

"So be it;" ſaid Cineas. "Is Sicily then "to be the end of our career?"

"The Gods having granted us this ſucceſs, "the field will be open for greater conqueſts. "Libya and Carthage would lie within our "graſp. After ſecretly departing from Sy-"racuſe and eſcaping with a few ſhips, were "they not ſubdued by Agathocles and his "handful of men? And, having conquered

"theſe,

" theſe, who will then affirm that any one of " the enemies, by whom we are now defied, " will dare to offer reſiſtance ?"

" I grant you, none."

" It is evident we ſhall then reconquer " Macedonia * ; and, thus ſtrengthened, ſhall " be ſecured in the poſſeſſion of all Greece."

" Well ! Suppoſe all this performed : what " ſhall we do then ?"

Pyrrhus laughing anſwered—" Then, my " dear Cineas, we will live at our eaſe, will " banquet and enjoy ourſelves in pleaſant con- " verſation."

" And what," ſaid Cineas, " prevents us " now, oh King ! if we deſire it, from ban- " queting, converſing, and living at our eaſe ? " now, that we have the power ? Why go in " queſt of that which we have, at the ex- " pence of ſo much labour, danger, and " blood ?"

Having conceived the plan of quitting Italy, Pyrrhus preferred accepting the invitation of Syracuſe to the recovery of Macedon. With Syracuſe, the Agrigentini and Leontini offered

* Pyrrhus had conquered Macedonia, and loſt it again; after having been declared King of that country. Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

themſelves; if he would deliver the iſland from the Carthaginians and tyrants. Accordingly, he left a garriſon in Tarentum and ſailed to Sicily, with thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe.

He was ſhortly in poſſeſſion of the Sicilian territories of Carthage; after he had firſt mounted the walls in perſon, and conquered the fortreſs of Eryx. To the Carthaginians who demanded peace, he anſwered it ſhould be granted, on condition that the Libyan ſea ſhould be their limits: and he humbled the Mamertini; who from Meſſina attacked the Greek towns, and obliged ſome of them to pay tribute.

Soſtratus and Thœnon, the chiefs of the Syracuſians who had invited him to Sicily, opened the city gates to him, and powerfully favoured all his meaſures: but he was ſuſpicious of them, and had no inclination either to take them with him or to leave them behind at Syracuſe. Soſtratus remarked his ſuſpicion and deſerted him; and he accuſed Thœnon of a ſecret underſtanding with Soſtratus, and put him to death. This occaſioned him to be hated by the towns; ſome of which allied themſelves with the Carthaginians, and others

aſked

aſked aid of the Mamertini: ſo that the letters from the Samnites and the people of Tarentum, preſſing him to bring them aid againſt the Romans, were highly welcome to Pyrrhus. He ſeized this opportunity, ſailed back with his troops, and, caſting a look toward the iſland, exclaimed to thoſe around him, "What a theatre of war have we left, for "the Carthaginians and the Romans!"

His prediction was fulfilled: theſe people fought in Sicily for the poſſeſſion of the iſland, and with it for the ſovereignty of the world. The occaſion was as follows.

The Campanian ſoldiers, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of Meſſina by treachery and murder *, made other towns tributary, moleſted both the Syracuſian lands and the Sicilian territories of Carthage, and found allies in four thouſand Roman ſoldiers that had been ſent by Rome to Rhegium, at the requeſt of the inhabitants as a garriſon, when Pyrrhus came to Italy. At firſt, theſe ſoldiers had obſerved their duty: but, tempted by the ſituation and proſperity of Rhegium, and excited by the example of the Campani, they thirſted to poſſeſs it, drove out ſome of the inhabitants,

* Polyb. l. i.

maſ-

maſſacred others, and made themſelves lords of the city.

At this time the Romans were ſo buſily employed, with their enemies, that they could not notice the crime: but, as ſoon as they had a moment's leiſure, they ſent an army againſt theſe inſurgents; the greater part of whom, knowing the fate that awaited them, fell ſword in hand. Three hundred of them were taken, ſent to Rome, ſcourged, and decapitated; and the citizens of Rhegium were again put in poſſeſſion of their town, and its territories.

A ſhort time previous to this event an army of Syracuſians, that lay before Morgentium *, diſſatisfied with the people who governed in Syracuſe, had choſen Artemidorus and Hiero as their chiefs. Hiero was yet very young; but had already ſhewn eminent qualities, and was likewiſe deſcended from the family of the great Gelo. By the aid of ſome friends, he ſucceeded in overpowering Syracuſe and his opponents, and uſed his good fortune in ſo gentle and dignified a manner that, though

* Αἱ δυναμεις των Συρακεσιων, διενεχθεισαι προς τας ἐν τῃ πολει, και διατριβσαι περι την Μοργαντινην.—So we ought to read, with Caſaubon: inſtead of Μεγαννην, a name no where to be found in Sicily.

the Syracuſians could not but be diſpleaſed at the audacity of the ſoldiers, they were ſtill induced to approve their choice and elect Hiero to the office of Strategus.

Acquainted with the verſatility of the Syracuſians, and knowing their propenſity to excite commotions whenever the Strategi were in the field with the army, he endeavoured to ſtrengthen the reſpect in which he was held by marriage; and took to wife the daughter of Leptines, a man whoſe power and good qualities acquired him conſideration.

The tumultuous and depraved manners of the mercenaries he thought leſs to be truſted than his fellow citizens themſelves; and, under the pretext of marching againſt the Mamertini, he led out his army and attacked the enemy near Centoripa; a town at the foot of Mount Ætna. When, advancing to battle, he came to the river *Kyamoſorus*, according to Cluverius the *Jaretta*, he halted with the Syracuſians, as if he meant to attack on another ſide, ſacrificed the ſtrangers to the ſword of the Mamertini, and led his native troops back to Syracuſe. This action, which by ſome who know how to ſeparate the idea of the uſeful from

from the idea of the good, may be called a ſtroke of policy, to me appears an indelible ſtain in the otherwiſe admirable life of Hiero *.

Soon afterward, he marched once more againſt the enemy; whom he defeated, near the river Longanus: *Fiume di Caſtro Reale:* in the territory of Mylæ or *Milazzo*, took the general priſoner, and after his return to Syracuſe was proclaimed King.

After the deſtruction of their friends in Rhegium and their own defeat, the Mamertini of Meſſina found themſelves in the utmoſt diſtreſs, and looked round in ſearch of foreign aid. One party called on the Carthaginians, to

* Cicero beautifully ſays: *Aliud utile interdum, aliud honeſtum videri ſolet. Falſo! nam eadem utilitatis, quæ honeſtatis eſt regula. Qui hoc non perviderit, ab hoc nulla fraus aberit, nullum facinus. Sic enim cogitans: "Eſt iſtuc quidem honeſtum, verum hoc expedit," res a natura copulatas audebit errore divellere; qui fons eſt fraudium, maleficiorum, ſcelerum omnium.*

On ſome occaſions, one thing appears to be uſeful; another juſt. 'Tis a miſtake. The uſeful and the juſt are inſeparable; and whoever is not convinced of this truth may be guilty of every fraud, and every crime. While he thinks to himſelf, This is juſt, but this is expedient, things connected in nature he will disjoin: which is the ſource of evil deeds, deceit, and all villainy.

whom

whom they ſurrendered the citadel; and another appealed to the Romans, and offered them the city.

The Romans, who were deſirous of giving every act of depredation the air of an act of juſtice, were greatly embarraſſed. They felt how unworthy it would be, after they had puniſhed their own citizens at Rhegium for the very crime committed by the Campani at Meſſina, to aid and protect theſe criminals. But they likewiſe with jealouſy beheld the Carthaginians ruling over many of the tribes of Spain, Sardinia, Corſica, and a part of Sicily; and were well aware that the poſſeſſion of Meſſina would ſerve the Africans as a bridge, for the invaſion of Italy.

The Senate weighed the advantage, weighed the diſgrace, and remained undetermined: glad no doubt to leave the deciſion to the people, and foreſeeing that they would fix their eyes more on the advantage to be gained than the injuſtice to be committed. One of the conſuls, Appius Claudius, was ſent with an army acroſs the ſtrait, took poſſeſſion of Meſſina, and ſoon conquered the citadel; though it was garriſoned by the Carthaginians. Acquainted with the ſuperior power of the enemy by

by land and ſea, and deſirous to avert a dangerous ſiege, he ſent ambaſſadors both to Carthage and to Syracuſe; requiring peace for the Mamertini. Being refuſed, he firſt ventured a battle againſt the Syracuſians, then againſt the Carthaginians, was the victor in both, obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, and deſolated the country of the Syracuſians and their allies *.

Theſe fortunate events induced the Romans in the following year to ſend the two conſuls, Octacilius and Valerius, with four legions and the troops of their Italian allies to Sicily; where moſt of the towns of the Carthaginians and Syracuſians revolted.

Hiero balanced the dread of the Greeks of Sicily againſt the hopes which might be placed in the Romans; and it appeared more reaſonable to confide in Rome than in Carthage: he therefore determined to make an alliance with the former. The propoſal was highly welcome to the Romans: eſpecially as they began to fear the want of proviſions; the fleets of Carthage being ſovereigns of the ſea. The conditions of this alliance were that Hiero ſhould ſurrender the priſoners, and pay a hun-

* Polyb. l. i. cap. xi. and xii.

dred

dred talents in ſilver to the Romans; and that he ſhould likewiſe ſupply them with neceſſaries in the war.

From this time, Polybius tells us, Hiero governed Syracuſe in ſafety; and, anxious to win the garland of praiſe in Greece, gave public proof that it had long been his ambition to empower himſelf and his country to enjoy the fruits of his wiſdom *.

The Carthaginians made Agrigentum their place of arms: but this city, after a vigorous defence, ſurrendered to the Roman Conſuls †.

The hopes of the Romans were great, and no leſs great was the thought they conceived: a thought that might have been called madneſs, had it not been crowned with ſucceſs. Nor was this ſucceſs the work of chance, but of that contemplative daring which characterized them above all nations, and led them to accompliſh neither leſs nor more than what they undertook: while, enflamed by courage and inſpired by political genius, they ſtrided from height to height; nor feared, nor ſuffered from, the precipice beneath.

Utterly ignorant as they were in maritime affairs, they determined to deprive the Car-

* Cap. xvi. † Cap. xix.

thaginians

thaginians of their ſovereignty by ſea: as well to rob them of the advantage of threatening Sicily and Italy, with their fleets, as to be able themſelves to bear fire and ſword into the hitherto ſafely protected Africa. The veſſels by which their army had been tranſported over the ſtraits had been obtained of the Greek towns of Italy: but they now reſolved to build a fleet of their own, which ſhould not only oppoſe but conquer maritime Carthage.

A ſtranded galley of the Carthaginians ſerved as a model for the firſt fleet of the Romans; who, while their new ſhips were building, exerciſed their youth for the intended marine ſervice. They ſeated them on benches on the ſtrand, ſimilar to the rowers' benches, taught them to bend their body at the word of command *, and thus formed them to labours with which they were previouſly unacquainted.

Sixty days did not paſs, after the felling of the timber was finiſhed, before a fleet of a hundred and ſixty ſhips rode at anchor: ſo that, according to the expreſſion of Florus, it appeared as if they had not been built by the

* Προς τα τȣ κελευτȣ παραγγελματα. The ancients were accuſtomed to row to the ſound of the flute. The flute player of a galley was called τριηραυλης.

art

art of man; but that, as a preſent from the Gods, trees had been metamorphoſed into ſhips *.

The Conſul, Cneius Cornelius, who had ſailed with ſeventeen ſhips to provide for the neceſſaries of the fleet, was ſhut up by Boodes, a commander of the Carthaginians, in the haven of the iſland of Lipari †. The Roman mariners eſcaped; but Cornelius was made priſoner in a treacherous manner, when invited to a conference with the Carthaginians ‡.

Soon afterward, Hannibal, a Carthaginian general, was in imminent danger of being taken; when, with fifty ſhips in order of battle, he attacked the Roman fleet, near the ſouth promontory of Italy; and, though he ſaved himſelf, he loſt moſt of his veſſels §.

As ſoon as the misfortune that had befallen the Conſul Cornelius was known by the officers on board the Roman fleet, they ſent to the other Conſul, Caius Duilius, who commanded the land forces; and he took upon him the command at ſea, and gave battle to the Carthaginians before *Mylæ;* the preſent

* Flor. ii. 2. † Polyb. lib. i. 21. ‡ Flor. ii. 2. § Polyb. lib. i. 21.

Milazzo, on the north ſhore of Sicily, half a day's journey from Meſſina.

Well knowing they could not equal the Carthaginians, either in the lightneſs of their ſhips or the expertneſs of their mariners, the Romans invented a means by which they might eaſily board the enemy; and thus make victory the conſequence rather of perſonal valour than of maritime knowledge. They raiſed poles, or maſts, on the prow of each ſhip; which they provided wiht *corvi:* a kind of grappling irons. Theſe maſts they could ſuddenly let down upon the ſhip of the enemy, grapple it faſt, and thus enable the ſoldiers to board.

The Carthaginians, in a hundred and thirty ſhips, rowed contemptuouſly and rapidly to oppoſe the Romans; who, ſtrangers to the ſea, had dared to defy them on their own element. Hannibal commanded on board a galley, with ſeven benches of rowers, which had been taken from Pyrrhus.

When the Carthaginians approached the Romans, they were aſtoniſhed at perceiving the unknown machines: but, holding their enemy in ſmall eſtimation, they eagerly began the attack. Their ſhips however were ſoon ſtopped in their progreſs by the *Corvi*, that

deſcended in an inſtant and held them faſt: thus depriving the Carthaginians of the advantage they derived from the quickneſs of their manœuvres, and preſerved to the boarding Romans the ſuperiority which they poſſeſſed in the uſe of arms. Thirty of the Carthaginian ſhips, among which was the ſuperb galley of the commander, and their crews, were taken. Hannibal himſelf eſcaped in a boat.

The Romans ſoon afterward relieved Egeſta: but Hamilcar, being informed of a conteſt in the Roman army between the legions and their Sicilian allies, profited by the circumſtance; and, as they had ſeparated their camps, he fell unexpectedly upon the Sicilians; of whom he ſlaughtered nearly four thouſand.

In the courſe of the following year, Camarina, Enna, and other towns, were taken by the Romans.

Obliged to paſs over many circumſtances, I cannot omit to mention the ſea fight that happened off the promontory of Ecnomos; or *Monte di Licata*, near the town of Alicata; in which the conſuls, M. Atilius Regulus and L. Manlius Vulſo, obtained a ſplendid victory over Hamilcar and Hanno, took ſixty-four

ſhips of the Carthaginians and their crews, and ſunk more than thirty*. None of the Roman ſhips were taken, but four-and-twenty were ſunk. The conſequences of this victory were the carrying of the war into Africa; which country became the ſcene of the victories of the great Regulus, of his defeat, of his impriſonment, and of his voluntary death.

I ſhall confine myſelf to Sicily, except juſt caſting a glance on that dignified man; who lay five years in fetters at Carthage, and, when as a priſoner conducted to Rome by their ambaſſadors, who requeſted an exchange of priſoners, warned the Senate not to grant this requeſt: although he knew the cruelty that awaited him from the Carthaginians, who would revenge their country and the rigorous zeal with which he defended the warlike fame of Rome, by inflicting on him a death of torture †.

Fertur pudicæ conjugis oſculum,
Parvoſque natos, ut capitis minor,
Ab ſe removiſſe, et virilem
Torvus humi poſuiſſe vultum;

* Cap. xxviii.

† Val. Max. i. 14, and Cic. Off. i. 13.

Donec

Donec labantes conſilio patres
Firmaret auctor nunquam alias dato,
Interque mœrentes amicos
Egregius properaret exul.

Atqui ſciebat quæ ſibi barbarus
Tortor pararet; non aliter tamen
Dimovit obſtantes propinquos,
Et populum reditus morantem,

Quam ſi clientum longa negotia
Dijudicata lite relinqueret,
Tendens Venafranos in agros,
Aut Lacedæmonium Tarentum *.

HOR. lib. iii. od. v. 41.

The hero ſpoke; and from his wedded dame
And infant children turn'd, oppreſt with ſhame
Of his fallen ſtate; their fond embrace repell'd,
And ſternly on the earth his manly viſage held

Till, by his unexampled counſel ſway'd,
Their firm decree the wavering Senate made;
Then, while his friends the tears of ſorrow ſhed,
Amidſt the weeping throng, the glorious exile ſped.

Nor did he not the cruel tortures know
Vengeful, prepar'd by a barbarian foe;

* At the time of the firſt Punic War, the Romans poſſeſſed no diſtant country houſes; neither in Venafrum, which was in Campania, nor in the territory of the then free Tarentum: though they inhabited theſe pleaſant countries in the age of Horace: who, in order to ſtrengthen the thought, appears to have indulged himſelf in an anachroniſm.

Yet, with a countenance ſerenely gay,
He turn'd aſide the crowd, who fondly preſs'd his ſtay;
As if, when wearied by ſome client's cauſe
After the final ſentence of the laws,
Cheerful he haſted to ſome calm retreat,
To taſte the pure delights that bleſs the rural ſeat.
FRANCIS.

Xantippus, a Lacedemonian, who, as General of the Carthaginians, had gained a victory over Regulus *, returned to Sparta; in order no doubt to avoid that envy which ſo frequently attends the glory acquired by a foreigner.

War was continued with various turns of fate; and the Romans, never greater than after misfortune, had fitted out a fleet which was dreadfully viſited by a ſtorm on the coaſt of Camarina †: where, of three hundred and ſixty-four ſhips, no more than eighty were ſaved. Within three months, they built two hundred and twenty new ſhips ‡; and ſet ſail with three hundred veſſels to *Panormus*, the preſent Palermo, and took this city: which was the chief of the Sicilian provinces of Carthage.

During the following year, they again loſt a hundred and fifty ſhips in a ſtorm: or more

* Pol. lib. i. † Cap. xxxvii. ‡ Cap. xxxviii.

pro-

probably through the ignorance of their mariners: after which they renounced, for a certain time, any enterprife by fea: fending none but tranfports with the fupplies intended for their army, on the courage of which they very juftly depended.

The Proconful, Cæcilius Metellus, obtained an important victory over Afdrubal, or Hafdrubal, the Carthaginian, in the territories of Panormus: which gave the Romans the greater pleafure becaufe they had taken the elephants that a fhort time before had filled them with the utmoft dread *.

In the fourteenth year of this war, the Romans faw themfelves in poffeffion of the whole Carthaginian territory in Sicily; Lilybæum and Drepanum, or Marfalla and Trapani, excepted; and undertook the fiege of the firft-named city, which was defended with no lefs zeal by the Carthaginians than it was attacked by them: both nations confidering the poffeffion of Sicily as the confequence of the capture of Lilybæum. Exclufive of the citizens, this ftrong place was defended, with valour, military fcience, and ten thoufand foldiers, under the command of Himilco. Han-

* Cap. xl. and xli.

nibal, another general of the Carthaginians, with fifty ſhips, brought the beſieged a reinforcement of ten thouſand men, in deſpite of the Roman fleet * (for the Romans had not continued firm in their reſolution of renouncing the ſea) which had not dared to oppoſe him when he entered the harbour. Hannibal ſoon ran out again by night, without being remarked by the Romans, and ſailed to Drepanum; on the preſervation of which every thing depended.

As the Carthaginians were extremely deſirous of receiving intelligence from Lilybæum, a Rhodian, who had aſſumed the Punic name of Hannibal, undertook to ſail in and out of the harbour, in defiance of the Roman fleet. The event proved that his dependance on the lightneſs of his veſſel, and on the maritime ignorance of the Romans, was well founded; for he ſeveral times, unpuniſhed, repeated this daring act: till at laſt he was taken by the Romans †.

Soon afterward, the beſieged, profiting by a ſtorm which had ſhattered and damaged the works of the Romans, and taking the opportunity while the wind continued to blow, ſet

* Cap. xliv. † Cap. xlvi and xlvii.

fire

fire to the war machines; the greateſt part of which they burnt, and the Romans found themſelves obliged to renounce the hope of taking the city by aſſault, and to place their whole truſt in preventing it from receiving proviſions and ſupplies *.

The Romans ſent a fleet, with ten thouſand men, commanded by the Conſul, Publius Clodius, to Sicily. The Conſul attacked Atarbas, or Adherbal, near Drepanum; but was beaten, and loſt ninety-three ſhips †.

After the victory, Atarbas ſent Carthalo with a hundred ſhips to Lilybæum, that he might deſtroy the fleet of the Romans. During the time that he was endeavouring to execute this plan, Himilco made a ſally upon the Romans, who ſuſtained great ſlaughter; and Carthalo in the interim burnt and took a part of the Roman veſſels, and haſtily left the remainder: having received information that a new fleet of the Romans was under ſail, which it was his intention to attack ‡.

This Roman fleet was under the command of the Conſul Junius; who had remained for a time at Syracuſe, and had paſſed the promontory of *Pachynum*, or *Capo Paſſaro*, when he

* Cap. xlviii. † Cap. xlix. to li. ‡ Cap. liii.

dif-

diſcovered the approaching enemy and found himſelf obliged to run among the rocks, on the ſouth coaſt of Sicily, though at the utmoſt hazard, beyond the purſuit of the Carthaginian.

Carthalo caſt anchor near a promontory, from which he could watch not only this fleet of the Romans but another, that lay in the mouth of the river: by which he was ſtationed between the two fleets.

Perceiving the ſigns of an approaching ſtorm, the Carthaginian paſſed the promontory of *Pachynum*, and gained the open ſea; while both the fleets of the Romans were expoſed to the tempeſt, and all their veſſels entirely loſt *.

The Conſul, Junius, made every effort to counteract this misfortune by ſome advantage; and obtained poſſeſſion, through the treachery of the garriſon, of the mountain Eryx and the town of the ſame name †.

In the eighteenth year of this war, Amilcar, or Hamilcar, of the race of Barcas, the great father of the great Hannibal, was appointed the General of the Carthaginians. Amilcar was but young, when he obtained

* Cap. liv. † Cap. lv.

this

this dignity * : the choice of the Senate therefore, in this inſtance, did the greater honour to Carthage.

After having viſited the ſouth coaſt of Italy, he landed with a fleet on the territory of Panormus; where he took poſſeſſion of the mountain *Eircta*, or *Monte Pellegrino*, near Palermo. Steep on all ſides, large, abundant, unmoleſted by venomous reptiles, flat on the top, and therefore favourable for the purpoſe, Hamilcar here built as well toward the ſea as the land; with which the mountain was connected by a kind of narrow cape, which as a paſs was eaſy of defence. It appeared by nature to be deſtined not only as a fortreſs but a watch tower, that overlooked land and ſea to a great diſtance. Add to which, the foot of the mountain afforded a bay, which was a convenient harbour for the ſhips of the Carthaginians.

On this mountain Amilcar fixed his camp;

* *Hamilcar primo Pœnico bello, ſed temporibus extremis, admodum adoleſcentulus in Sicilia præeſſe cœpit exercitui* †. That is, "Hamilcar, during the firſt Punic War, but toward the end of it, while a very youth, began to command the army in Sicily." Now, as Hannibal his ſon was born in the following year, the expreſſion *admodum adoleſcentulus* is evidently too ſtrong.

† Corn. Nep. in Hamilc.

and,

and, ſurrounded by foes, unable to congratulate himſelf on the aid of any allied town, from this place he attacked the Romans by land and ſea; although they were in poſſeſſion of the whole iſland. He even ventured to quit this ſtrong hold, and ſail far enough with his ſhips to lay waſte the coaſt of Cumæ; and, for a continuance of nearly three years, fought many great battles with the Roman army; which was only diſtant five ſtadia, or three thouſand feet, from Panormus.

He likewiſe took the town of Eryx; although the Romans had one camp on the top of Mount Eryx, and another at the bottom. Now beſieging, and now beſieged, Amilcar proved himſelf to be a general of the firſt order; for, during two years to the end of the war, he ſupported himſelf and his little troop againſt two armies; and frequently endured the difficulties of that dearth which he inflicted on the neighbouring enemy *.

The Romans once more determined, for the third time during this war, to fit out a fleet: for which purpoſe the exhauſted treaſury was repleniſhed by voluntary donations of the principal citizens; and two hundred

* Cap. lviii.

galleys, with five benches of rowers each, were built after the model of the veſſel in which the Rhodian had ridiculed their ignorance of ſhip-building, and navigation, at Lilybæum *.

To counteract theſe intentions, Carthage ſent Hanno with a fleet and troops; that were to land at Eryx, and there not only take in proviſions but Amilcar with his beſt warriors: after which the fleet was to give battle to the Romans.

The Conſul, Lutatius, who commanded the new fleet of the Romans, haſtened to meet Hanno; that he might give battle to the over-burthened ſhips of the Carthaginians, and avoid a combat with the dangerous warriors of Amilcar: and, what muſt appear to him ſtill more dangerous, with Amilcar himſelf. The battle was fought with better ſhips than the Romans had hitherto poſſeſſed; and they attacked the heavy loaded ſhips of the Carthaginians, the crews of which on this occaſion were haſtily collected, and unſkilful ſailors. With reſpect to the Carthaginian ſoldiers, they were not to be compared with the warlike Romans. The firſt onſet was de-

* Cap. lix.

ciſive:

ciſive: the Romans ſunk fifty of the enemies ſhips; and took ſeventy, with their crews.

After this defeat, the Carthaginians gave Amilcar full power to make war, or peace; and the hero, no leſs ſage than valiant, who had left no means of victory untried, and having gained it neglected no advantage, yielded to neceſſity with dignified moderation, and ſent ambaſſadors to demand peace of the Conſul.

The demand was granted, with ſome ſtipulations on the part of Rome. The Carthaginians were to evacuate Sicily, and the Lipari iſlands; and to bind themſelves neither to moleſt the people of Syracuſe nor their allies: beſide which a tribute was impoſed upon them *.

Thus ended the firſt Punic war; 240 years before the birth of Chriſt, in the third year of the 134th Olympiad, and 512 from the building of Rome; after this war had continued four-and-twenty years.

The Romans had now made a deciſive ſtep toward the ſovereignty of the world, for they ſaw themſelves in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part

* Cap. lx. to lxiii.

of

of Sicily; which was the firſt province they held beyond the confines of Italy *.

Hiero lived five-and-twenty years after the concluſion of the firſt Punic war. He had aſcended the throne by merit, and reigned over a people zealous for the freedom which they were incapable of maintaining. Nor did he ſupport his government by the ſhedding of blood, or the baniſhment of a ſingle citizen †. He wiſely made virtue his ſupport, continued faithful to his alliance with the Romans, and viſited their city during the *Ludi Sæculares*; in the year of Rome 515.

After the victory of Hannibal over the Romans at Thraſymene, he ordered ambaſſadors to Rome to teſtify his affliction, ſent them archers, ſlingers, corn, a weighty *Victoria* in gold, and added the information that the Romans ought to ſend their Prætor who governed Sicily with a fleet to Africa, in order to prevent the Carthaginians from affording aid to Hannibal.

The Roman ſenate made honourable men-

* Four years afterward, the Romans, under a trifling pretext, obliged the Carthaginians to cede Sardinia.

† Polybius: Examples of Virtue and Vice, lib. vii. Eutrop. iii. 1.

tion

tion of his kindneſs, accepted his preſents, and placed the *Victoria* in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus*.

Pliny mentions Hiero among the Kings who cauſed agriculture to flouriſh †.

By a regulation which was not oppreſſive to the farmer, he ſecured the public revenue by levying a yearly tythe of corn. "Whether "the corn were ſtill in ſheaf, or houſed in "barns, or ſheds, the countryman could nei- "ther, by removal nor by exportation, cheat "the King's officers of a ſingle grain. The "regulations were ſo exact that it is evident "Hiero enjoyed only this tax ‡. Acute as a "Sicilian, he was as watchful as a tyrant. "This very arrangement was beneficial to "agriculture; for ſo reſtricted was the power "of the tythe collectors that they could not "take more of the farmer than their due §."

Theſe tythes were always commuted: a regulation which, from this period to the time

* Liv. xxii. 37. † Plin. Nat. Hiſt. xviii. 5.

‡ There are proofs of Hiero having raiſed taxes on trade. When Cicero called the tythes the only tax, he ſpoke of the taxes paid by the farmer for his lands. Theſe were very ſupportable, in ſo fertile a country; and likewiſe very productive to the State.

§ Cic. in Verrem.

that

that the Syracuſian diſtricts of Sicily came under the Roman power, from reſpect to Hiero and becauſe it was beneficial to the people, was wiſely continued by the Romans; till it was aboliſhed under the rapacious Prætor Verres, to whom nothing was ſacred *.

The generoſity of Hiero not only extended itſelf toward the Romans but to his other allies. He and his ſon, Gelo, when an earthquake had injured the city of Rhodes and thrown down the famous coloſſus, ſent conſiderable preſents in gold as well as ſilver veſſels to the Rhodians; with fifty *catapultæ*, or battering engines; and cauſed a ſtatue to be erected in Rhodes, which repreſented that city crowned by Syracuſe: added to which he remitted the uſual taxes, to thoſe Syracuſians who traded with Rhodes †.

We find an ample but intereſting deſcription, in Athenæus, of a magnificent and prodigious galley; that had twenty benches of rowers, contained an extraordinary number of perſons, and was not only provided with dreadful means of aſſault but with all that could delight the mind, and charm the ſenſe.

* Cic. in Verrem. † Polyb. v. 88.

Baths of bronze and of Tauromenian marble, ſtables, a gymnaſium, ſmall gardens planted with various trees and watered by pipes, the twining vine and ivy, a library, and a ſun dial, were all in this galley. It had three decks; the ſecond of which was inlaid with variegated moſaic work, containing the whole hiſtory of Homer's Iliad. Every neceſſary for repoſe by night, and banqueting by day, was provided with a regal luxury.

As much timber was brought from the foreſt of Ætna, for the building of this galley, as would have ſufficed for ſixty ordinary galleys. It had three maſts; and, on the upper deck, it was fortified round with a wall, and eight towers like a citadel. Each of the towers contained four combatants, completely armed, and two archers. Within, the towers were provided with miſſiles, and ſtones; and on the walls ſtood a kind of artillery-machine, invented by Archimedes, which threw ſtones of three hundred weight, and a lance twelve ells in length, to the diſtance of a ſtadium: or ſix hundred feet.

Each ſide of the wall was provided with ſixty young men, well armed; and there were ſhooters

ſhooters even in the maſt-cages *. Round the upper deck was an iron rim; where there were machines placed which would act immediately againſt an enemy's ſhip, hold it faſt, and draw it to the galley. A tree ſufficiently large for the main maſt was long ſought for in vain: till a hog driver found one in *Brettia*, or *Bruttium*, the preſent South Calabria †. The lower deck could be pumped by a ſingle man, with the aid of a machine which the Greeks called Κοχλιον; the Latins *Cochlea;* and which we, after its inventor, name the ſcrew of Archimedes.

When the wonderful work was completed, it was diſcovered that ſome of the havens of Hiero would not contain it; and that in others it was not ſafe. Hiero therefore ſent the galley ‡ to King Ptolomy, Ptolomæus Phi-

* Similar perhaps to the Top, or Round-top, of a man of war. T.

† Inſtead of Βρεττιας, it was uſual to read Βρεττανιας: which brought the main maſt of the galley of Hiero from England! Caſaubon diſcovered the error, and reſtored the true reading.

‡ We muſt evidently read, with Cauſaubon, Ἐπει παντας τας λιμενας ἠκεε τους μεν ὡς ε δυνατοι εἰσι την ναυν δεχεσθαι, τας δε και ἐπικινδυνας ὑπαρχειν. As the haven of Syracuſe

Philadelphus I ſuppoſe, as a preſent, to Alexandria *.

You will pardon me this borrowed but abbreviated deſcription, taken from Athenæus †: as it appears to me, not only intereſting in itſelf, but, uſefully inſtructive to thoſe who have formed no juſt idea of the mechanics of the ancients. To ſuch perſons, I recommend the chapter in Athenæus which contains this deſcription; as well as others, in which greater ſhips of the Ptolomies are deſcribed: and of one which was built by Ptolomæus Philopater; that, rowers and warriors included, could contain ſeven thouſand men.

The great Archimedes was the relation and friend of Hiero, and was a ſage whoſe mind was exerciſed in the higher mathematics. Deeply abſorbed in the reſearches of this profound ſcience, he was but little deſirous to employ himſelf in exciting the wonder of the multitude, who were incapable of following him in his abſtract contemplations. Happening one day, in the preſence of Hiero, to

racuſe is one of the moſt capacious and ſecure in the world, I conjecture that Hiero had no inclination to widen the entrance for this veſſel.

† Athen. l. v. cap. 10, 11.

affirm

affirm that all bodies, even the earth itſelf, give him but a point to ſtand upon, might be removed, the King preſſed him to prove his aſſertion by ſome viſible experiment: on which, Archimedes bought an old galley, cauſed it to be loaded and manned, and, ſeating himſelf at a diſtance from it, by the eaſy working of a machine, drew it toward him over the ground as glidingly as if it had been in the ſea. The King was amazed! and, by entreaties, prevailed on him to conſtruct thoſe famous war machines which even now, when ſcience has taken ſtrides ſo vaſt, excite aſtoniſhment but are not equalled *.

The poet Theocritus, a Syracuſian, flouriſhed in the time of Hiero.

Livy informs us that Gelo, the eldeſt ſon of Hiero, after the battle of Cannæ, deſpiſing his father's age, revolted to the Carthaginians; and would have changed the ſtate of Sicily, had he not, fortunately at the moment when he was arming the people and exciting the allies, been cut off by death: of which his father has been ſuſpected to be the cauſe †.

Hiero deſerves to be vindicated from a ſtain ſo black as this; and we have the ex-

* Plut. Life of Marcel. † Liv. xxiii. 30.

preſs teſtimony of Polybius that Gelo, who was above fifty years of age, had conſidered it as one of the nobleſt purpoſes of life to obey his father; and neither to value wealth nor the ſplendour of power ſo highly as that obſervance of faith, and love, which he held to be due to his ſeniors. Polybius lived only one generation after Hiero; and Livy two hundred years: the hiſtory therefore of the incidents of that age by Livy deſerves leſs to be credited than the teſtimony of the Greek writer *.

Hiero died in the firſt year of the 141ſt Olympiad, 538 years after the building of Rome, and 214 before the birth of Chriſt, at the age of ninety; and after he had reigned four-and-fifty years. He would have frequently reſigned the ſovereignty, and again made Syracuſe a free ſtate: but, according to

* Polybius, Examples of Virtue and Vice, l. vii. Of the writings of Polybius the remains only of his hiſtory have deſcended to us; which conſiſted of forty books. The five firſt are perfect: beſide which there are large fragments of the twelve following books; and examples from his hiſtory, which were extracted by the Greek Emperor, Conſtantinus Porphyrogenetes. One of theſe is entitled "On Virtue and Vice," the other "On Embaſſies."

the

the teſtimony of Polybius, he was entreated to retain it by the people. Livy ſays that, when he was very old, he would have laid down his dignities; fearful the power ſhould be abuſed that ſhould deſcend to his grandſon, Hieronymus; but that he was prevented by his two daughters, and their huſbands, Andranodorus and Zoippus, who hoped to reign under the name of the young King: and that Hiero, at the age of ninety, was unable to withſtand their careſſes *.

Hiero when dying exhorted the young Hieronymus to remember the principles of his education, and to continue faithful to that alliance which he had preſerved during fifty years with the Romans; and he likewiſe appointed fifteen guardians, who were to conſtitute a council of ſtate †. Soon however after the death of the old King, Andranodorus removed his fourteen colleagues, himſelf renouncing in appearance at the ſame time his guardianſhip of Hieronymus; whom he proclaimed as no longer a minor, Hieronymus

* Compare the ſeventh book of Polybius, on Examples of Virtue and Vice, with Livy xxiv. 4.

† Cap. iv. and v.

being then fifteen years of age. But his true intention was to take the power to himſelf, and ſhare it with Zoippus. The young king nevertheleſs liſtened to one Thraſo, who was the only perſon that adviſed him to continue his friendſhip with the Romans.

A conſpiracy was diſcovered, againſt the life of the young king, by a coxcomb of the ſame age as Hieronymus, who was accuſtomed to be in his ſociety: but he could name none of the conſpirators, except Theodotus, who had invited him to participate in the plot. Theodotus was ſeized, and acknowledged himſelf guilty: but no tortures could wring from him the names of his aſſociates. Being at length obliged to yield to pain, he named ſeveral of the friends of the king; and, among others, Thraſo, that he might turn aſide ſuſpicion from his confederates, by accuſing the innocent. The accuſed were put to death; while the conſpirators remained undiſcovered, not one of whom concealed himſelf, or left the city, but depended on the fortitude of a man who, it is true, ſhewed himſelf worthy of this confidence relatively to them, but who, for this purpoſe, indulged himſelf

himſelf in calumny the moſt criminal and the moſt hateful*.

By the death of Thraſo, the laſt bond of union with Rome was broken: ambaſſadors were ſent to Hannibal, who in return ſent a young Carthaginian nobleman, named Hannibal, and with him Hippocrates and Epiſydes, two brothers, whoſe grandfather had been a fugitive from Syracuſe: but they were born in Carthage, of a Carthaginian mother.

The Roman territorial prætor, Appius Claudius, likewiſe ſent an ambaſſador to Hieronymus: but they treated him with ridicule, and queſtioned him concerning the circumſtances of the defeat at Cannæ. After ſeriouſly warning him againſt revolt, the Roman departed.

Hieronymus ſent his envoys to Carthage; and the treaty was concluded: Stipulating that, "as ſoon as the Romans ſhould be driven "out of Sicily, the river Himeras ſhould "be the boundary between the territories of "Carthage and Syracuſe †."

Being

* Cap. v.

† Not only the *Fiume Grande*, on the north, but the *Fiume Salſo*, which runs into the ſea on the ſouth ſhore of Sicily,

Being reminded by flatterers that he was not only the grandſon of Hiero but by his mother likewiſe of Pyrrhus, he ſoon afterward ſent another embaſſy; in which he now demanded the ceſſion of all Sicily, leaving Italy to Carthage. The Carthaginians laughed at the vanity of his demand; to which however they avoided giving an abſolute refuſal, leſt he ſhould again ally himſelf to the Romans *.

In the phrenſy of his ambition, Hieronymus led an army of fifteen thouſand men againſt Leontium; intending to ſeize this city, and the Roman territories; and the conſpirators, perceiving this to be a favourable opportunity, aſſaſſinated him in a narrow way †.

Hieronymus reigned thirteen months.

At firſt, the enraged army ſtormed aloud, and the blood of the aſſaſſins they declared muſt be ſacrificed to the manes of the murdered King: but the frequently deceiving ſound of freedom, and the hopes of ſharing

Sicily, and which both proceed from one ſpring, was probably called *Himeras* by the ancients: as I have already ſhewn there is good reaſon to ſuppoſe, in the lxxxvith letter.

* Cap. vi. † Cap. vii.

the

the treaſure of the deceaſed, whoſe cruelty and voluptuouſneſs were now no doubt exaggerated, ſoon turned the tide, and the fickle multitude, whoſe affliction and thirſt for revenge were at firſt ſo violent, were now ſo entirely forgetful of the King that they ſuffered his body to remain unburied *.

While the other conſpirators remained behind to ſecure the army, Theodotus and Soſis rode to Syracuſe on the King's horſes: yet a meſſenger was there before them, and Andranodorus had already placed a guard in the iſland, the citadel, and other parts. They rode through the gate Hexapylon, to that part of the city called Tyche, and from there to Achradina, every where ſhewing the bloody robe of the King. They ſummoned the people to Achradina: or *Acradina;* for ſo was that large quarter of Syracuſe called which ſeparated the iſland Ortygia, the ſtrongeſt part

* Polybius, who well underſtood the merits and demerits of men, grants that Hieronymus had been immoderate, and unjuſt; but denies that he ought, as ſome writers have affirmed, to be compared to the moſt infamous tyrants. Polyb. lib. vii. of Examples of Virtue and Vice.

of

of the city, from Tyche and the new town, or Neapolis *.

On the following morning, Polyænus, one of their chiefs, pronounced a diſcourſe which breathed freedom and moderation. He reminded the Syracuſians that, " being ac- " quainted with the diſgrace of ſlavery, they " ought to be more zealous in reſiſting an ex- " perienced evil. They likewiſe knew, from " the annals of their fathers, that contention " was an evil. He praiſed them for having " taken up arms: but he would praiſe them " more, were they only to uſe them in caſe " of extreme need. Deputies might be ſent " to Andranodorus, which ſhould command " him to ſubmit to the ſenate and the people, " throw open the gates, and every where " diſmiſs the guards. Should Andranodorus " perſiſt in oppoſing them, freedom ought " then, in his opinion, to be more ſtrenu- " ouſly inſiſted on from Andranodorus than " from Hieronymus."

The ſenate was aſſembled which, in the time of Hiero, had been conſulted on public

* Cap. xxi.

affairs ;

affairs; but which, during the reign of Hieronymus, had never been convoked.

Andranodorus was appalled by the unanimity of the citizens; and that ſtrongeſt part of the city which was in his poſſeſſion, the iſland, was no longer under the guard of his adherents. A conference was held between him and the deputies; but he was called aſide from it by his wife Demarata, the daughter of Hiero: who, inflaming him with her ambition, adviſed him to ſend for the army from Leontium, and win it over by a promiſe of the royal treaſury. He perceived however that, for the moment, he muſt yield; and promiſed the deputies to ſubject himſelf to the ſenate, and the people.

Early on the following day, he opened the gate of the iſland, and appeared at the public place in Achradina. There he held a diſcourſe, exculpating himſelf from delay, and alleging that he did not know whether the people had not probably been angry with all that were related to Hieronymus: but, now that he perceived that thoſe who had made Syracuſe free intended to preſerve it in freedom, he had no views but thoſe of ſurrendering all that belonged to him, and all that was entruſted

to

to him by his country. He then turned to the conſpirators, and addreſſed himſelf to Theodotus and Soſis by name. "You have "performed," ſaid he, "a memorable deed: "but, believe me, your glory, though begun, "is not completed. Imminent danger is yet "impending: for, if you do not reſtore peace "and concord, the free republic will become "a morbid corpſe*."

After this oration, he laid the keys of the gates and the royal treaſury at their feet; and the aſſembly joyfully ſeparated. The temples were filled with men, women, and children, offering up vows for the weal of the republic: and Strategi were appointed on the following day. Of theſe, Andranodorus was one: the others were chiefly choſen from among the conſpirators.

Hippocrates and Epicydes, ſeeing themſelves deſerted by the ſoldiers, returned to Syracuſe, and demanded an armed guard, that ſhould eſcort them back to Hannibal, who was with the Locri, in Italy; alleging that all Sicily ſwarmed with Romans. The Syracuſians would have been glad of their departure, but delay was inevitable; and, in the interim,

* Cap. xxii.

theſe

theſe two youths aſperſed the ſenate and the nobles to the people, by the means of ſoldiers and deſerters: accuſing moſt of them of being allied with the Italians and Romans; and that, under the pretence of procuring their ſafety, they meant to betray them into the power of Rome *.

The people liſtened, believed the accuſations againſt their chiefs, and not only Epicydes but Andranodorus, excited by his wife, conceived new hopes. In concert with Themiſtus, who had married Gelo's daughter, the ſiſter of Hieronymus and the niece of Demarata, Andranodorus conceived a plan of ſeizing on the government; which he communicated to Ariſton, a player, who declared all he knew to the Strategi, and Andranodorus and Themiſtus were aſſaſſinated in the ſenate.

The act excited tumult: but, when the Strategi led Ariſton to the aſſembled Senate, and he there related that the conſpiracy began at the nuptials of Harmonia, the daughter of Gelo, with Themiſtus; that the intention of the conſpirators was to aſſaſſinate the Strategi and the principal citizens, by the aid of African and Spaniſh ſoldiers, who were to

* Cap. xxiii.

be rewarded with the wealth of the perſons aſſaſſinated; and that the body of ſoldiers that had been the adherents of Andranodorus were again prepared to ſeize on the iſland Ortygia; it appeared to the Senate that the merit of the preſent aſſaſſination was no leſs ſelf-evident than that of Hieronymus had been.

The mixed voices of an irreſolute and tumultuous people reſounded through the Senate-houſe; and the bodies of the dead were there expoſed, in order to inſpire terror. They all ſilently proceeded to the general aſſembly; before which Sopatrus, one of the Strategi who had been a conſpirator againſt Hieronymus, at the command of his colleagues and the Senate, pronounced an inflammatory diſcourſe *, and excited the fickle and enthuſiaſtic Syracuſians againſt the wives of the two perſons aſſaſſinated: who, being princeſſes of the blood royal, had inſpired their huſbands with ambition.

A wild and univerſal cry now aroſe, that neither the princeſſes nor any one of the blood royal ſhould be ſuffered to live. "Such," ſays Livy, "is the nature of the multitude: "they obey like ſlaves, or they domineer like

* Cap. xxiv.

" tyrants. Of that freedom which lies be-
" tween the extremes, they cannot endure to
" be deprived; yet have not the capacity to
" enjoy it: nor do the ſupple agents of their
" anger often fail to irritate the cupidity and
" intemperance of the multitude to ſtain
" themſelves with blood and murder *."

Thus it happened at preſent. Scarcely had the Strategi made the propoſition, that the whole royal race ſhould be extirpated, before it was confirmed, proclaimed, and aſſaſſins were ſent, to put Demarata and Harmonia to death †.

Heraclea, the wife of Zoippus, lived retired with her two daughters: her huſband having been ſent by Hieronymus to the king of Egypt, where he had rather preferred to reſide than in the reſtleſs Syracuſe. When ſhe heard that ſhe likewiſe was to fall, ſhe and her daughters fled to the inmoſt ſanctuary of her houſehold gods: where, in their mourn-

* *Hæc natura multitudinis eſt, aut ſervit humiliter, aut ſuperbe dominatur: libertatem, quæ media eſt, nec ſpernere modice nec habere ſciunt: et non ferme deſunt irarum indulgentes miniſtri qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad ſanguinem et cædes irritent.*

† Cap. xxv.

ing robes and their hair diſhevelled, the trembling virgins waited, expecting death.

In vain did Heraclea conjure the aſſaſſins, now by the memory of Hiero, and now of Gelo, not to confound the guiltleſs with the vices of Hieronymus. "Did any man now," ſaid ſhe, "inform my huſband of the death "of Hieronymus, and that Syracuſe is free, "how would he haſten to his ſhip, and joy- "fully reviſit his country! Alas! how deceit- "ful are the hopes of men! Now, in free Sy- "racuſe, the ſword is ſuſpended over his wife "and daughters! What is to be feared from a "woman who lives like a widow? or what "from orphan virgins? If the whole royal "race be ſo hateful to you, Oh ſend us to "Alexandria! the wife to her huſband, the "daughters to their father!

Perceiving the aſſaſſins, deaf to her remonſtrances, draw their ſwords, regardleſs of herſelf, ſhe entreated only for her daughters; whoſe tender age might well inſpire compaſſion! Entreated that, while they were ridding themſelves of tyranny, they would not imitate the crimes of tyrants! Deaf to all ſhe ſaid, they dragged her from the ſanctuary, and murdered her.

They

They then assaulted the daughters; who, sprinkled with their mother's blood, frantic in terror, broke from their gripe: again pitilessly were seized, again with fresh wounds escaped, till, at last, mangled and disfigured with blood, they fell, overwhelmed with stabs, just as an order for their pardon too late arrived.

The rage of the people changed to compassion, in behalf of the murdered princesses; and this compassion to anger, against the exciters and hasty executors of the murderous command. New Strategi, to replace the deceased Andranodorus and Themistus, were demanded; and the Strategi in office well perceived that the approaching election would not be conducted according to their desires *.

The people being assembled, one of the lowest among them put Epicydes, and another Hippocrates, in nomination; and numerous voices supported this choice; which was the more easily favoured because a great part of the assembly consisted of soldiers, and fugitives, to whom every change was acceptable. In vain did the Strategi endeavour to oppose their election: overpowered by the crowd, and

* Cap. xxvi.

fearful of commotion, they were obliged to acknowledge the candidates as their colleagues.

Wholly in the intereſt of Carthage, Epicydes and Hypocrates were chagrined that ambaſſadors had been ſent to Appius Claudius, the prætor of the Roman province. Appius had ſent information of this to the Conſul, Claudius Marcellus, who was expected in Sicily; and he had deputed envoys to Syracuſe. Their arrival however was unfavourable: for the appearance of a Carthaginian fleet, off the promontory of *Pachynus*, or Capo Paſſaro, was publicly announced; and Hippocrates and Epicydes, now throwing off the maſk, accuſed their colleagues of an intention to betray Syracuſe to the Romans, by putting it into the hands of the Roman ſoldiers and deſerters. Some ſhips, which Appius had ſent to the mouth of the haven for the encouragement of thoſe who favoured Rome, gave a colouring of probability to this accuſation; and the people immediately roſe to defend themſelves againſt the Romans, ſhould they attempt to land *.

The citizens were convoked, and addreſſed; and the confuſion was ſo great that an in-

* Cap. xxvii.

ſurrection was feared. Apollonides, a principal citizen, calmly harangued them on the neceſſities of the moment, exhorted them to concord, and pointed out the neceſſity of coming either to an undivided and determined declaration in favour of the Romans, or of the Carthaginians. He thought the deciſion of greater importance than the choice: though he urged political and moral motives in favour of an alliance with the Romans, whoſe friendſhip they had maintained above fifty years. He placed before them the example of Hiero, and the oppoſite conduct of Hieronymus; and concluded with the remark that, if war were declared againſt Carthage, there would be no immediate occaſion of combating; but, if againſt the Romans, they muſt inſtantly arm, and from that moment expect to be attacked.

The diſcourſe of Apollonides produced its effect. The people were eaſily convinced that they were incapable of ſuſtaining a war againſt Rome, and ambaſſadors were ſent to demand peace *.

A ſhort time afterward, deputies arrived from Leontium, requeſting protection for

* Cap. xxviii.

themſelves and their territory; and this appeared to be a favourable opportunity, to the chiefs of Syracuſe, of ridding the city of reſtleſs people, and dangerous leaders. The Strategus, Hippocrates, was commanded to head the ſoldiers and deſerters, who aſſembled under his banners, to the number of four thouſand men.

This enterpriſe was no leſs agreeable to the perſon ſent than to the perſons ſending, who were equally deſirous of a change of affairs. Hippocrates began with an outrageous attack on the Roman territory; and, when Appius ſent aid to the allied army, Hippocrates fell on the Romans with all his force, and put many of them to death. As ſoon as Marcellus heard this, he ſent to Syracuſe, complained of the breach of peace, and demanded the baniſhment of Hippocrates and Epicydes, not only from Syracuſe but from Sicily.

Epicydes departed to Leontium; where he found the citizens at that time diſinclined to the Romans, and by rouſing them to their ancient love of freedom, excited them to revolt from Syracuſe: the government of which he deſcribed as tyrannical. Ambaſſadors being

ſent

ſent from Syracuſe to complain of the injuries done to the Romans, they were arrogantly anſwered that the Leontini had neither agreed with the Syracuſians to conclude a peace with the Romans, nor did they hold themſelves bound by any foreign alliance.

The Syracuſians communicated this anſwer to the Romans; and declared that, as the Leontini had renounced their alliance, the Romans were at liberty to make war upon them: nay that they would even aid them in this war, provided that, when they ſhould be ſubjected, it ſhould be a condition of the treaty of peace that Leontium ſhould become a part of the territory of Syracuſe *.

Marcellus now marched with his whole army againſt Leontium, commanded Appius to aid him in the ſiege, and the city was taken at the firſt aſſault by the enraged Romans. Hippocrates and Epicydes took refuge in the citadel, and from thence eſcaped to *Erbeſſus*.

Eight thouſand men from Syracuſe were marching againſt Leontium, when they were met by a meſſenger; who acquainted them with the capture of the city, and related the

* Cap. xxix.

cruelties committed by the Romans; which he exaggerated; affirming that not only the ſoldiers of Leontium, but the citizens had been ſlaughtered. He did not believe an adult was left alive: the city had been plundered, and the property of the rich divided.

The uſage of war at that time gave probability to his relation; which was increaſed by the levity with which the Leontini had injured the Romans. The truth was, Marcellus had only ſcourged and decapitated two thouſand deſerters: but not one of the citizens, whom he had neither attacked in body nor in goods.

The calumny had a powerful effect on the army; which refuſed to proceed farther againſt Leontium, or to wait for further intelligence. Soſis and Dinomenes, their commanders, led them againſt Megara; and haſtened themſelves with a ſmall body of horſe to Erbeſſus, which place they hoped to gain by ſurpriſe: but, after an unſucceſsful attempt, they returned to head the army that they had ſent againſt Megara.

Deſpairing of being ſaved, Hippocrates and Epicydes determined to throw themſelves on the mercy of the army that was retreating: they

they being known to moſt of the ſoldiers, and having heard the impreſſion that had been produced by the falſehood of the meſſenger. The vanguard conſiſted of ſix hundred Cretans, who had lately ſerved with both theſe leaders under Hieronymus; and who likewiſe were devoted to Hannibal: becauſe, having been taken by him at the victory of the lake of Thraſymenus, he had ſet them at liberty. To theſe Hippocrates and Epicydes, according to the cuſtom of ſuppliants among the ancients, preſented the olive branch wound round with cotton; entreating that they might not be delivered up to the Syracuſians, who ſoon would deliver the Cretans themſelves to the aſſaſſinating ſword of the Romans *.

The Cretans immediately called aloud to them to be of good courage; for that they were ready, be it what it might, to ſhare their fortune. The army halted before the Generals knew why; and, when the rumour began to ſpread, that Hippocrates and Epicydes were preſent, the Generals haſtened to the banners in front of the army, and demanded of the Cretans if they were daring enough to hold intercourſe with enemies: nay more, to re-

* Cap. xxx.

ceive

ceive them in the army without the conſent of their leaders? and commanded Hippocrates to be put in fetters. The cries of the Cretans however were ſo frantic, and the conſent of the army was ſo loudly announced, that the Strategi were embarraſſed; and, proceeding in their march to Megara, ſent an account of this occurrence to Syracuſe.

To arrogance Hippocrates added treachery, and invented letters, from the Strategi in Syracuſe to Marcellus, which he pretended to have intercepted; letters which not only approved of the maſſacre of the Leontini, but which diſplayed intentions inimical to the ſoldiers; wiſhing that Sicily were freed from them, and even containing a requeſt that the Romans would attack the army before Megara, and by the ſlaughter of theſe men relieve Syracuſe from danger.

The reading of the letters excited the moſt furious exclamations. The ſoldiers aſſembled, ran to arms, and the fearful Strategi fled to Syracuſe; all the citizens of which, that were in the army, were ſeized, and not one of them would have been ſpared, had not Hippocrates and Epicydes appeaſed the wrath of the revolters. This they did, not from humanity,

nity, but, that they might hold them as hoſtages.

Taught by experience how eaſily the people might be moved, they inſtructed a ſoldier, who had come from Leontium, to ſpread among the citizens of Syracuſe the falſe intelligence of the maſſacre of the Leontini; which had already produced ſo great an effect upon the army *.

Not only the multitude, but the Senate itſelf of this inflammable people, gave credit to this man's tale. They congratulated themſelves on their good fortune in having diſcovered the cruel ſpirit of the Romans before they had found an occaſion of inflicting the ſame diſgrace on Syracuſe!

The determination to ſhut the gates was general. To this moſt were induced by a fear of the Romans; but ſome took this ſtep as a well founded precaution againſt Hippocrates and Epicydes. Theſe men however were already at the gate of Tyche, which is called Hexapylon, or the ſix-door gate, when the people immediately began to demand it ſhould be opened, and they and their army marched into the city. In vain did the

* Cap. xxxi.

Stra-

Strategi command, threaten, and, forgetful of their dignity, condeſcend to entreat. The people were deaf, the army was admitted, Achradina was taken, and the Strategi were murdered: ſome of them excepted, who eſcaped amid the tumult.

Night put an end to the maſſacre; and the following day the ſlaves were ſet free, the priſons were opened, and a tumultuous aſſembly of this confuſed multitude elected Hippocrates and Epicydes as Strategi *.

When the Romans, who were at Leontium, heard of the tranſactions of Syracuſe, they began their march. The meſſengers, ſent by Appius, with difficulty eſcaped; their galley having been ſeized in the haven: ſo that not only the rights of peace but the laws of war were infringed. The Romans encamped fifteen hundred paces from the city, at Olympion; a village ſo called, after the temple of the Olympian Zeus: whence they ſent deputies; whom, that they might not be admitted into the city, Hippocrates and Epicydes, attended by a guard, went to meet.

One of the Romans declared, "they came "not as enemies, but as deliverers: as well

* Cap. xxxii.

"to

" to thoſe who ſhould take refuge among " them, as to thoſe who were obliged pa- " tiently to ſubmit to ſhameful ſlavery. They " came as the revengers of betrayed and aſ- " ſaſſinated allies. If thoſe who had deſerted " to the Romans might be permitted to re- " turn, and if the authors of murder and com- " motion were delivered up, Syracuſe ſhould " be reinſtated in its liberties and laws with- " out an appeal to arms.

Epicydes concluded an arrogant anſwer with obſerving that, " if the Romans thought " proper to attack them, the difference be- " tween beſieging Leontium and Syracuſe " would ſoon be diſcovered *."

The Romans now began to beſiege Syracuſe by land and water: which place conſiſted of four united towns. The fleet was commanded by Marcellus; the land forces by Appius; and both attacked the city with prodigious machines: playing upon it with *baliſtæ*, and *catapultæ*; the firſt to throw miſſiles, and the laſt to batter the walls; while the light-armed ſlingers and archers from the ſhips aſſailed the walls of Achradina, where

* Cap. xxxiii.

the

the Syracuſians were ſeldom ſuffered to appear unchaſtiſed.

Aſſaults like theſe Syracuſe could not long have reſiſted, had not a ſage in the city, a ſingle ſage, familiarized with the ſtars of heaven and initiated in the wonderful ſecrets of ſcience, previouſly exerciſed his invention, out of friendſhip for Hiero, in the conſtruction of war machines; and had not the great man, now that his country was in danger, increaſed his former preparatory ſtores *.

Marcellus expected great conſequences from enormous ſtorming machines, or ladders; which were called after the *ſambuca*, a muſical inſtrument of the Greeks, and which were ſupported by two galleys braced to each other: the rowers of one ſitting on the right ſide, and the rowers of the other on the left. The machine was long, four paces broad, and provided with ſcaling ladders: the upper ends of which, being raiſed in the manner of a drawbridge, were let down againſt the wall. Connected as theſe ladders were with the galleys that carried them, they had been com-

* Compare Livy, lib. xxiv. 53, with Polybius viii. 5 to 8, and with Plutarch's Life of Marcellus.

pared

pared to the muſical inſtrument called the *ſambuca:* but the miſſile machines of Archimedes ſoon deſtroyed the *ſambuca;* for ſome of his machines caſt forth leaden bullets, and others fragments of rock of ten hundred weight: which ſhattered the *ſambuca* and the galleys.

Archimedes cauſed the walls in many places to be bored through; the outward apertures of which were ſmall, but within they were capable of containing a man; and from theſe the Syracuſians, without danger to themſelves, diſcharged their ſmaller miſſiles and arrows *.

Archimedes, with inexhauſtible art, ſhowered and flung implements of deſtruction on the enemy, whether diſtant or near. Thus, when the Romans imagined that, by approaching the walls, they ſhould eſcape the danger of thoſe vaſt machines that aſſaulted them at a diſtance, they found themſelves annoyed with ſtones and arrows, from the ſecret receſſes, more furiouſly than before. The beſiegers could diſcover no protection againſt the well directed beams and ſtones, of incre-

* Polyb. lib. viii. Liv. lib. xxiv. and Plut. Life of Mar.

dible

dible ſize, which were diſcharged upon their latticed turrets. (γερρα, crates, plutei).

Archimedes had conſtructed vaſt engines behind the walls; which now ſuddenly ſunk the galleys of the Romans by inſtantly letting beams fall, at the end of which an enormous weight was faſtened; and now by the aid of other beams, provided with hooks which might be called iron hands, that no leſs rapidly ſeized on the galleys, lifted them up, whirled them round in the air, hurling the crew on all ſides, and at laſt daſhing the ſuſpended veſſel againſt the walls.

So great was the terror that ſeized upon the Romans that, if they only ſaw but a cord hanging from the walls, or a projecting lath, they immediately took to flight: crying, Archimedes is going to aſſault us with new machines *!

Marcellus thus ſaw himſelf obliged to change the ſiege into a blockade; and to cut off the ſupplies of the city, by land and water.

In the ſecond campaign he left Appius at the head of the beſieging army, and marched againſt other towns of Sicily that had taken

* Liv. xxiv.

part

part with the Carthaginians. Helorus and Erbeſſus ſurrendered; and Megara was taken by ſtorm, and ſacked, to the terror of the other towns: particularly of Syracuſe. This was about the time Himilco landed at Minoa; with twenty-five thouſand foot, three thouſand horſe, and twelve elephants.

Unremarked by the beſiegers, Hippocrates marched by night out of Syracuſe, with ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, and encamped near Acrilla*; which ſituation muſt have been about half a day's journey north, beyond *Capo Paſſaro* †. Marcellus left Agrigentum, where his intentions had been fruſtrated, it having been previouſly taken by Himilco, and unexpectedly fell upon Hippocrates, defeated him, by the victory prevented ſeveral towns from revolting, and marched back to the camp of the Romans that lay before Syracuſe.

Himilco, after taking Morgentium ‡, endeavoured to induce ſeveral towns to declare in favour of Carthage; and Pinnarius, the Roman commander in Enna, diſcovered that the inhabitants had a ſecret underſtanding

* Cap. xxv. † Vid. Cluv. Map. Sic.
‡ Cap. xxxvi.

with Himilco. The chiefs of the town, pretending to feel offended at unmerited diſtruſt, demanded of him the keys of the gates; firſt entreating, then preſſing, and at laſt threatening; ſupported by the cries of the clamorous people: but Pinnarius had cautioned, armed, and arranged, his ſoldiers; who, on a given ſignal, ruſhed ſword in hand upon the inhabitants, who had no foreſight of this attack, maſſacred them in their rage, and in this manner preſerved one of the ſtrong holds of Sicily, which was impregnable, for the Romans. Marcellus favoured this action, and gave up the booty of the plundered Enna to the ſoldiers *.

Marcellus ſuffered Appius, who was deſirous of the conſular dignity, to depart for Rome; and, in his ſtead, gave the command to T. Quinctius Criſpinus; while he himſelf took up his winter quarters in a place called Leon, five thouſand paces from Syracuſe †.

In the ſpring of the third year, Marcellus was doubtful whether he ſhould march againſt Himilco and Hippocrates, and endeavour to conquer Agrigentum, or ſhould continue the

* Cap. xxxvii. xxxviii. and xxxix.

† Cap. xxxix.

ſiege

ſiege of Syracuſe; which ſet his power at defiance, and unmoleſted received ſupplies from Carthage. He determined however to make a trial of artifice; by means of the fugitives from Syracuſe, who had taken refuge with him: but this was diſcovered, and Epicydes cauſed thoſe in the city, who held correſpondence with the conſpirators, to be put to death with tortures.

Soon afterward, Damippus, a Lacedemonian ſent by the Syracuſians to Philip king of Macedon, was taken priſoner by the Romans. Epicydes wiſhed to ranſom him; to which Marcellus was not diſinclined, becauſe the Romans, at that time, began to ſhew themſelves well diſpoſed toward the Ætolians, who were the allies of the Lacedemonians. This negotiation occaſioned ſeveral meetings near a haven of Syracuſe; which, to diſtinguiſh it from the two others, was called after a neighbouring village the Trogilian haven.

From this place a Roman meaſured the height of the wall with his eye, counted the number of ſtones as they lay one over the other, found that according to his eſtimate the height was not ſo conſiderable as it had been ſuppoſed, and communicated his remarks to

Marcellus; who did not neglect the advice of the ſoldier, but only waited a favourable opportunity for carrying it into execution. This was ſoon afforded him, at the feſtival of Diana; which continued three days, and on which occaſion, as delicate viands were ſcarce in the beſieged city, the wine was the more liberally diſtributed by Epicydes.

Night being come and the ladders prepared, ſome ſelect warriors mounted the wall; and, encouraged by their example, others followed. From the wall they glided to the gate Hexapylon *; meeting with little reſiſtance, and putting their few opponents to the ſword. They now began to batter at one of the ſix doors of the gate Hexapylon. Mean while, all the trumpets of the Romans ſounded the aſſault on the walls; and ſome of the ſoldiers had already ruſhed forward to Epipolæ. When the morning appeared, the gate was forced, Marcellus marched with his whole army into that quarter of the city, and Epicydes, not ſuppoſing the enemy that had gained entrance thus powerful, haſtily left the iſland to march to Epipolæ: but, after a vain attack, retreated with his army to Achradina;

* Liv. xxv. cap. 23.

leſs

leſs from the fear of the Romans than from the dread of treachery; and becauſe, if he longer delayed, he might find the gate that led from Achradina to the iſland blockaded.

When Marcellus, from the high ground where he was, overlooked the city, the tears ſtood in his eyes: partly ſays Livy from the joy excited by his ſucceſs, and partly by the remembrance of the former glory of Syracuſe. Imagination conjured up the ſunk fleets of the Athenians, and the deſtruction of their two mighty armies, with their two famous leaders. He recollected the dangerous wars that Syracuſe had waged againſt the Carthaginians, and the powerful tyrants and kings of that city: among whom he diſtinguiſhed Hiero the Great, whoſe recent memory he aſſociated with thoughts upon the fortune, the friendſhip, and the virtue of the man: which were the dearer to the Romans becauſe, while as a King he had ſteadfaſtly preſerved his attachment to Rome, he had ſubjected his country by making himſelf its benefactor.

While this paſſed in his mind, the afflicting idea occurred that this noble city, probably within an hour, might be wholly conſumed by flames. Therefore, before he made an aſ-

ſault upon Achradina, he ſent ſome of the Syracuſians, that were with him, with conciliatory propoſitions: hoping they might be moved to a voluntary ſurrender *.

The walls and gates of Achradina were guarded by deſerters; who, deſpairing of pardon for themſelves, ſhut up every entrance againſt the perſons deputed by Marcellus, and refuſed them a hearing.

Marcellus ſtationed his army between Tyche and Neapolis; two quarters of Syracuſe; after he had made a vain attempt to perſuade Philodemus, the commander of the high fortreſs of Euryelus, to ſurrender. He choſe this ſtation becauſe the place was not the populous part of the city, that he might reſtrain the pillage of the ſoldiers; and hither deputies came to him, from Tyche and Neapolis, preſenting the olive branch, and entreating that they might be preſerved from murder and conflagration: and, after holding a council of war, he promiſed protection to the free. All others he gave up as the booty of the ſoldiers; and immeaſurable was the plunder of a city which had flouriſhed ſo long. Philodemus now ſurrendered the for-

* Cap. xxiv.

treſs

treſs of Euryelus; after he had procured a free retreat, for himſelf and his troops, to Epicydes.

Bomilcar, the Carthaginian admiral, during a ſtormy night, ſecretly ſailed from the haven of Syracuſe, with five-and-thirty ſhips, left five-and-fifty behind, haſtened to Carthage, and ſoon returned with a hundred ſail *.

Hippocrates and Himilco came unexpectedly with an army upon the Romans; whom they attacked, aided at the ſame time by Epicydes and the garriſon of Achradina, while the Carthaginian fleet was ſo ſtationed that it cut off all communication between Marcellus and Criſpinus: one of whom however repulſed Hippocrates, and the other Epicydes.

Nor were the evils of war ſufficient: they were increaſed by a peſtilence, the infection of which continued to ſpread in conſequence of the air of the place, the ſeaſon of the year, and the multitude of the ſick; eſpecially in the camps without the city, which were not ſheltered by the cooling ſhade of the houſes. The wailings of death were heard day and night; till the people were ſo accuſtomed to miſery that they firſt became indifferent, and

* Cap. xxv.

afterward ſo bewildered that they not only beheld the dying without a tear, but likewiſe neglected to inter them: by which the air was rendered more peſtilential. The Carthaginians, who could neither fly to the towns, like their Sicilian allies, nor like the Romans had been ſufficiently long at Syracuſe to be accuſtomed to the air, all died; and, with them, their two generals, Hippocrates and Himilco. Of the Romans many likewiſe fell a ſacrifice to the contagion*.

The land army of Carthage having been thus deſtroyed, Bomilcar once more ſailed back with the fleet; and once more returned with a hundred and thirty war galleys, and ſeven hundred tranſports: but contrary winds would not ſuffer him to paſs the promontory of *Pachynus*.

Epicydes, fearful that theſe winds would induce Bomilcar once more to ſail to Africa, left the defence of Achradina to his leaders, and went on board the fleet of Bomilcar in order to perſuade him to hazard a battle.

Marcellus had likewiſe an inclination to engage, before Bomilcar ſhould be joined by his allies, and ſurround the Romans by land

* Cap. xxvi.

and

and ſea: for, ſhould that happen, Marcellus ſaw that all Sicily would arm, as enemies, againſt the Romans; he therefore ſailed to face Bomilcar.

The two fleets now appeared off *Pachynus;* and, as the eaſt wind began to abate, Bomilcar weighed anchor in all appearance at firſt to gain the open ſea, and paſs the promontory: but, when he diſcovered the Roman fleet, he was ſuddenly ſeized with terror; though his force was ſuperior to that of Marcellus: and, flying from Sicily to Tarentum, he ſent orders to the tranſports, that lay before Minoa, to return to Africa.

Epicydes, diſappointed in his hopes, went to Agrigentum; more with the intention of waiting to ſee what turn affairs would take than of acting offenſively *.

The departure of Epicydes and the flight of the Carthaginians being known in the Sicilian camp, an embaſſy was ſent to Marcellus, and a treaty of peace was ſoon concluded; by which it was ſtipulated that Rome ſhould govern Syracuſe with kingly power, and that all the tribes of Sicily ſhould be permitted to live according to their own laws.

* Cap. xxvii.

The

The Sicilians imparted these conditions to the besieged; representing to them that they, like friends, had made a common cause with Syracuse, and exhorted them to surrender. Three of the chiefs of Epicydes were massacred, and the people were inclined to give ear to the Romans: however they proceeded to elect new Strategi.

On the part of the Romans no obstacles were raised; but many by the deserters in the city, who endeavoured to bring the soldiers over to their opinion by persuading them that they were in equal danger; and accordingly an insurrection took place, in which the Strategi and many of the citizens were murdered, and the houses were plundered. After this three leaders were chosen in Achradina, and three in the island: but the soldiers, soon coming to a sense of their error, effected a perfect reconciliation with the ambassadors of Marcellus.

Among the three newly named commanders in Achradina, there was a Spaniard, whose name was Mericus, and to whom Marcellus sent a countryman of his own, who served with his Spanish allies; exciting Mericus secretly to favour Marcellus. Mericus agreed

to

to the propoſitions of the Roman; to whom he opened the gate of the iſland, near the ſpring of Arethuſa. Marcellus likewiſe attacked Achradina with his whole army; and the Romans, being now in poſſeſſion of theſe two quarters, were thus entirely maſters of the city.

Marcellus ſent a Quæſtor to take poſſeſſion of the royal treaſury, placed a guard before the houſes of the citizens who had come over to the Roman camp, and gave up the city to plunder. It was the opinion of Livy that Carthage itſelf, had it fallen at that time into the hands of the Romans, would not have afforded a richer booty.

The deſerters had found time and opportunity for flight *.

While the ſpirit of cruelty and plunder raged, and the din of a conquered and ſacked city was every where heard to howl, Archimedes, his whole ſoul abſorbed in a mathematical queſtion, was deſcribing lines in the ſand; when a Roman ſuddenly ſtood before him, and ſavagely commanded him to follow him to Marcellus. Archimedes looked up, and bade him wait till he had ſolved his

* Cap. xxviii to xxxi.

problem;

problem; and the ſoldier, impatient at the delay, ſtruck him to the heart.

This murder deeply afflicted Marcellus. He ordered the great man to be honourably interred; and revered his memory by every proof of kindneſs to his ſurviving relations *.

From one of the orations of Cicero againſt Verres, it appears that Marcellus ſpared the ſtatues of the Gods. Neither did he give up Syracuſe to unlimited ſackage: nor did he take any thing for himſelf, but with the plunder of this city embelliſhed Rome. "It was "his opinion," ſaid the wife Cicero, "that his "houſe would be an ornament to the city; "provided the ornaments of the city were "not confined to his houſe †."

Syracuſe was captured in the 519th year after it was a ſecond time founded, by Archias the Corinthian: Rome having then been built 540 years; that being the third year of the 141ſt Olympiad, and 212 years before the birth of Chriſt.

From this time, all Sicily became a Roman

* Cap. xxxi.—Plut. Life of Marcellus.

† *Putavit, ſi urbis ornamenta domum ſuam non contuliſſet, domum ſuam ornamento urbi futuram.* Cic. in Verrem.

province;

province; and was treated by that proud people with a diſtinguiſhed mildneſs: till, about a hundred and forty years after this period, Verres, the Roman Prætor, there exerciſed ſhameful acts of voluptuouſneſs, rapacity, and cruelty; which Cicero, with all the fire of his eloquence, in his ſucceſſive orations againſt this monſter, has deſcribed, ſtigmatiſed, and rendered immortal.

Among the many deathleſs acts of this great and dignified man, who was once the ſaviour of his country and afterward waged glorious war againſt inſatiable oppreſſion, among theſe acts, his orations againſt Verres may be reckoned as one of the chief. By theſe, he gained the approbation of the good; but drew down upon himſelf the hatred of many of thoſe men, who had either enriched themſelves by the plunder of the provinces, or hoped for future riches by means thus baſe.

There is no crime that can be conceived of which Verres was not guilty. He purloined from the public treaſury, plundered whole cities and provinces, robbed the temples, ſet juſtice up to ſale, gave up the iſland to pirates, applied the money appointed for the maintenance of the marine to his own ſe-

cret purpoſes, extorted new taxes, and laid his rapacious hands on the private property of the rich. Many of the innocent he threw into priſon; and, in a manner till then unheard of, drove a uſurious trade with the miſeries of theſe unfortunate people. So much muſt be paid, by afflicted friends and parents, for permiſſion to ſee the priſoners: ſo much for leave to bring them food: and ſo much for the favour of not inflicting torture, when they were put to death. When long impriſonment and the very manner of the death of the victims to his cruelty had contributed to enrich him, yet, that he might deprive ſurviving friends of the laſt conſolation, the body was thrown to the wild beaſts.

Even the number of the crimes of Verres gave him confidence. His exactions had been ſo exorbitant that he hoped to purchaſe his ſafety. Nor were theſe hopes groundleſs: it required all the fortitude, extraordinary gifts, and fire of a Cicero, that he ſhould at laſt be brought to juſtice, and puniſhed. Yet, how puniſhed? By a moderate fine; to which he voluntarily added ſelf-baniſhment. The vigilance of his great accuſer was ſucceſsful, in diſcovering that Verres had his ſecret confederates

federates in Rome; who undertook, as a ſpeculation in trade, to buy off the judges for a ſtipulated ſum. But Cicero rendered this incredibly impudent plan abortive; and introduced the right by which the accuſer, as well as the accuſed, might object to a certain number of the judges; and, while he made this diſgraceful project public, he laid what was probably a neceſſary reſtraint on the remaining judges.

The orations of Cicero, while they unveil the iniquity of Verres, afford us a glance of the conſtitution of the Roman Empire; at which we cannot but ſhudder. We too often ſuffer ourſelves to be dazzled by pictures of Roman freedom, during the laſt ages of the republic: particularly from the time of the Gracchi, while contention and corruption ruled in Italy and in Rome, and oppreſſion and rapine in the Roman world. And ſuch oppreſſion, ſuch rapine, ſuch miſery, that the moſt outrageous of the Emperors indubitably treated the provinces with leſs cruelty than was exerciſed upon them, while under this famous Republic!

From the time that all Sicily became a Roman

man province, Syracuſe ſhared the general fate of the iſland.

In the war between Auguſtus and Sextus Pompeius, this city ſuffered very much from the latter; and Auguſtus, by whom it was favoured, in part reſtored it, and ſent a colony thither: though he only permitted that part adjoining to the iſland of Ortygia, called Achradina, to be rebuilt *.

In the time of the Greek Emperor, Baſilius, Syracuſe, after a valiant defence, in which every age and ſex took a moſt zealous part, was conquered, plundered, and deſtroyed by the Saracens; and many of the inhabitants were maſſacred. From this time †, the iſland of Ortygia only was inhabited.

In the year 1086, Roger the Norman, Count of Sicily, took Syracuſe from the Saracens. After the death of Roger, it deſcended to his nephew, Tancred; who was likewiſe called Count of Syracuſe.

During the minority of the Emperor, Frederick the Second, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the people of Piſa ſeized on the city. The Genoeſe ſunk every ſhip

* Strabo, lib. vi. † Fazello, vi. and Amico.

in

in the harbour, took Syracuſe, and put all the people of Piſa to death.

Alemanno Coſta, the general of the Genoeſe, who ſtyled himſelf by the grace of God, and of the Republic of Genoa, Count of Syracuſe, attacked the Venetians; and the government of Syracuſe reverted to the Emperors of the Swabian line, who were Kings of Sicily*.

In the year 1348, the city was viſited ſeverely by the plague; and afterward diſtracted by internal commotions.

The following letter will give you an account of the ruins of this once ſovereign city, and of its preſent condition; exhibiting the vaſt Syracuſe, which once conſiſted of four towns, μεγαλοπολιες Συρακοσαι, now limited to a ſmall iſland: an affecting monument of the viciſſitude of human affairs and of the inſignificance of earthly grandeur.

Ἐπαμεροι· τι δε τις; τι δ' ὀτις;
Σκιας ὀναρ ἀνθρωποι. Ἀλλ' ὁταν ἀιγλα
Διοσδοτος ἐλθη,
Λαμπρον ἐπεστι φεγγος ἀνδρων,
Και μειλιχος ἀιων.

PINDAR, Pyth. viii. ep. 8.

* Amico Lex. Top. Sic.

Child of a day, what art thou, man?
A dream of ſhadows! nothing more:
Unleſs the Gods impart a ray
To give thee light, and give thee life.

LETTER XCII.

Syracuſe, 1ſt July, 1792.

THE moſt celebrated of the ancient writers all agree, in the general deſcription they give of the power, and the ſovereignty, of ancient Syracuſe.

In the time of its proſperity, the city was a hundred and eighty ſtadia in circumference: that is, two-and-twenty Italian miles and a half; or upward of five and a half of geographical, nearly four common German miles.

The following extract, from one of the orations of Cicero againſt Verres, will prove what Syracuſe was, long after the loſs of its freedom. "That Syracuſe is the greateſt and "moſt beautiful of all the Greek cities you "have often been told; and you have been "told

" told the truth. Its ſtrong ſituation on every " ſide, by land and ſea, is lordly to view. Its " havens are encloſed by the city itſelf; by " which they are overlooked. From different " entrances, they join their ſtreams in one " common outlet. That part of Syracuſe " which is called the iſland, in conſequence of " the junction of the waters, is ſeparated by a " ſmall arm of the ſea from the city; to which " it is again united by a bridge.

" So great is the ſize of Syracuſe that it is " uſual to ſay it conſiſts of four cities. One " of theſe is the iſland; which, girded by " two havens, extends itſelf at the mouth of " each: and in this iſland is the building " which was the citadel of Hiero, and which " now ſerves as the reſidence of the Roman " Prætors. It contains ſeveral temples: of " which the two grandeſt are the temple of " Diana and the temple of Minerva. On " the extreme ſide of the iſland there is a " ſweet ſpring, that is called Arethuſa; of an " incredible ſize, and well ſtored with fiſh. " It would be wholly overflowed by the ſea, " did not a ſtone dam guard it againſt the " waves.

" Another of the towns of Syracuſe is called " Achradina: in which is a great forum, " beautiful colonnades, a handſome *pryta-* " *neum**, a ſpacious ſenate houſe, and a no- " ble temple of the Olympian Jupiter. The " remaining part of this town conſiſts of a " long ſtreet, that is interſected by many " others; which contain the houſes of the ci- " tizens.

" The third town is called Tyche: becauſe " an ancient temple of Fortuna was here " built. It had an extenſive gymnaſium, and " many ſacred buildings; and was an exceed- " ingly populous part of Syracuſe.

" The fourth town, which was built the laſt, " is called Neapolis; and, in the higheſt part, " contains a great theatre, two excellent tem-

* This was the name of a hall in Athens; in which the preſidents of the Senate aſſembled, on particular occaſions. Theſe preſidents conſiſted of a part of the five hundred ſenators: a twelfth part of whom, each month in the year, enjoyed this privilege. Public feſtivals were held in the *Prytaneum;* and it was here that thoſe who had deſerved well of their country were feaſted, and even their relations after their death: as may be ſeen in Potter's Archæologia. The *Prytaneum* of Syracuſe was dedicated to the ſame purpoſe.

" ples,

" ples, one dedicated to Ceres, the other to " Libera, and the large grand ſtatue of Apollo, " ſurnamed Teminites *."

As Cicero names only four towns, or parts of Syracuſe, and as other writers, Greek and Roman, ſtate their number at five, the remark of Cluverius appears indubitably to have been juſt; when he tells us that Epipolæ, as it is clearly ſhewn in Livy ‡, was not inhabited by citizens, but was garriſoned with ſoldiers, in war time, for defence.

In the beginning of his ſecond Pythian ode, which is inſcribed to Hiero the Firſt, the brother of the great Gelo, Pindar mentions this city with an epithet by which it is characterized:

Μεγαλοπολιες ω Συρα-
κοσαι, Βαθυπολεμα
Τεμενος Ἀρεος, ἀνδρων
Ἱππων τε σιδαροχαρμαν
Δαιμονιαι τροφοι *.

* Libera was a name of Proſerpine. *Vetus eſt hæc opinio —inſulam Siciliam totam eſſe Cereri et Proſerpinæ conſecratam —Raptam eſſe Liberam, quam eamdem Proſerpinam vocant, ex Ennenſium nemore.* CICERO in Verrem.

† Liv. xxv. 24.

* Oh *great town*, Syracuſe, the ſanctuary of warlike Ares (Mars), godlike nurſe of men and horſes that delig in iron.

Amico eſtimates the number of the former inhabitants of Syracuſe at a million ; and Riedeſel at twelve hundred thouſand ſouls. I do not know the authorities for theſe eſtimates of two modern writers; but they do not appear to me exaggerated, as Diogenes Laertius gives eight hundred thouſand people for the number of the inhabitants of ancient Agrigentum. Neither ought it to be forgotten that, on an average, there were four ſlaves to one free man. The number of free men, in ancient Syracuſe, might ſurely conſiſt of three hundred thouſand; and a city, which was four common German miles in circumference, might certainly afford room for a million of people : eſpecially as four-fifths of the number conſiſted of ſlaves, who were thronged together in a very narrow compaſs.

On the 26th of June in the forenoon, we viſited *Saverio Landolina Nava;* a knight of Malta, and a perſon to whom ſtrangers, luckily for themſelves, are uſually recommended. He poſſeſſes a knowledge of the preſent country and of antiquity, is an acute reader of Greek, and a pleaſant and worthy man. A few traits ſufficiently proved to me the perſpicuity with which he interpreted many paſ-

ſages

ſages, in ancient writers, that had formerly been thought obſcure.

He offered, in a friendly manner, to inſtruct us in the antiquities of the city: which, from a perſon who to accuracy of judgment adds ſo much knowledge, was to us highly acceptable. During our reſidence of ſix days, he, with true hoſpitality, dedicated his whole time to us: for which I think myſelf the more indebted to him as this excellent man ſo well underſtands the employment of his hours.

He accompanied us to the cathedral; one ſide of which reſts on twelve or thirteen ancient Doric pillars, which it is ſuppoſed belonged to the portico of the temple of Minerva, that is mentioned by Cicero in the paſſage I have cited. At preſent, only one half of them appear: the other half having been walled in, when this temple was changed into a church. The temple muſt have been about as large as that in Egeſta.

Facing the cathedral are the ſtatues of the apoſtles, Peter and Paul. The following inſcription is under that of Peter:

Apoſtolorum Principi, Fundatori ſuo, Eccleſia Syracuſana p.

"The congregation of Syracuſe erected

this ſtatue to the chief of the Apoſtles, their founder."

The Syracuſians affirm that their firſt biſhop was ſent them by Peter.

There appears to me to be much dignity in the inſcription of the ſtatue of St. Paul: who, in his journey from Jeruſalem to Rome, was overtaken by a ſtorm, ſhipwrecked at Malta, and remained three days at Syracuſe *,

Apoſtolo Gentium, Hoſpiti ſuo, Eccleſia Syracuſana p.

" The congregation of Syracuſe erected this ſtatue to the Apoſtle of the Gentiles, their gueſt."

There is a tradition, and a probable one, that Archimedes drew a meridian line in this temple: but the tale, which is told by the ignorant, that the meridian ray of light, which paſſed through the opening of the temple of the Olympian Jupiter, fell in this temple is very abſurd. One meridian ray directed through two different buildings! Buildings that were one of them in the iſland, the other in the city, on the other ſide of the haven! And, in addition, a very elevated, and almoſt perpendicular meridian ray of Sicily!

* Acts xxviii. 12.

We

We saw a stone in the Seminary that has but lately been found, and that contains an inscription which appears to denote that there either was a temple, in Syracuse, dedicated to all the Gods, that is, a Pantheon, or that there was an altar thus consecrated.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕoΣ ΑΓΕΜoΝoΣ
ΙΕΡoΝoΣ ΙΕΡoΚΛΕoΣ
ΣΥΡΑΚoΣΙoΙ ΘΕoΙΣ ΠΑΣΙ.

"Under the reign of King Hiero, the son "of Hierocles, the Syracusians consecrated it "to all the Gods*."

There is a library in the Seminary, which is always increasing: but it is the only one in Syracuse. The Seminary likewise contains a collection of ancient coins.

When we entered this building, the heat was not extreme: but when we returned, in three quarters of an hour, we felt the wind meeting us as hot as if it came from an oven: we being then in the open air and unprotected by shade. Some of us were immediately

* This shews that the father of Hiero the Second was called Hierocles: as was Hiero's grandson and successor †.

† Hieronymus, we are told, was the name of Hiero's grandson: and the inscription proves nothing to the contrary. T.

seized

ſeized with a pain in the breaſt; which continued as long as this wind prevailed: that is, about three hours. Landolina adviſed us, when we came home, to ſhut up the windows, leaving only ſufficient light to ſee to read, and to ſprinkle the apartments with water.

By theſe means, the air of the houſe became ſupportable. Reaumur's thermometer, in a narrow but very cool court, aſcended from 22° to 31°.

In the following ſummer of 1793, the heat in England roſe to 31°.

Men were diſcovered lying dead on the ground. So true it is that the ſame degree of heat, in Italy and Sicily, is by no means ſo dangerous as when it viſits a country where the air is not equally pure. Cicero praiſes Syracuſe by ſaying, that, there is no day in the whole year ſo cloudy as for the ſun not once to appear.

This hot wind rages with ſuch exceſs only once in three or four years; and ſeldom then during a whole day. It blows from the weſt, is loaded with the hot vapours of Africa, and is therefore ſimilar in its effects, upon this eaſtern coaſt, to thoſe of the Scirocco, upon the country round Palermo. We durſt not

leave the houſe all the afternoon; but cooled ourſelves with ice, and ſtrengthened ourſelves with generous Syracuſian wine. I did not feel myſelf ſo entirely overcome by languor as I had before been by the Scirocco wind: but the Scirocco did not give me the ſame pain in the breaſt.

The cuſtom of taking ice, in Italy and Sicily, is conſidered as an indiſpenſable refreſhment; and as a powerful remedy, in many diſeaſes. The phyſicians of theſe countries do not give many medicines; but frequently preſcribe a ſevere regimen, and prevent the baleful effects of various diſeaſes by ſuffering the ſick, for ſeveral days, to take nothing but water cooled by ice, ſweet oranges, and iced fruits. They aſcribe much efficacy, and I believe truly, to the external and internal uſe of water.

Iced milk, fruits, chocolate, and other viands, are found in moſt of the towns. They do not, as with us, uſe ice as a cooler, but ſnow; which is not only more eaſily preſerved, than ice, but it is ſuppoſed by them to be more healthy. That ſnow is more eaſily preſerved appears evident; as, in warm ſummers, our ice houſes are frequently deficient: whereas

whereas there is no ſcarcity of ſnow in the hot ſummers of the South. It is preſerved partly in natural cliffs of the rocks, and partly in caverns; which they dig in the mountains toward the north. In theſe the ſnow is cloſely packed together; and, to give it a durable conſiſtency, *mixed** with ſtraw, ſand, or, in volcanic countries, with aſhes.

The municipal magiſtrates are careful to make a ſufficient proviſion of ſnow; and would be in danger, from the anger of the people, if a want of this neceſſary ſhould be felt. The Government of Naples takes upon itſelf to provide for the city; and grants a man the privilege, by contract, of furniſhing four hundred thouſand inhabitants with ſnow. It is preſerved in the cliffs and caverns of the mountain *San Angelo:* between Caſtell-a-Mare and Sorento. Snow is brought every night to the ſhore on the backs of aſſes; and porters are then loaded with it, by whom the city is provided for the following day. The Neapolitans would murmur as loudly, were they without ſnow for a ſingle day, as our ſoldiers, when in camp, if they could procure

* The German word is *vermiſcht:* though I ſuſpect that *covered* is meant. T.

neither brandy nor tobacco. The contractor is ſubjected to a fine of two hundred ducats, for every day on which the city is not ſufficiently ſupplied with ſnow.

Landolina has led me to remark the cuſtomary uſe of ſnow among the ancients.

Athenæus, in his third book, cites many paſſages from writers who ſpeak of this cuſtom. An ancient poet, Alexis, ſays

Και χιονα μεν πινέιν παρασκευαζομεν.

"We likewiſe provide ſnow for our beverage."

Another poet, Euthycles, has this paſſage:

Πρωτον μεν ειδεν ει χιων ες' ωνια.

"He firſt enquired if ſnow were ſold."

Athenæus cites a paſſage from Chares, who wrote the Hiſtory of Alexander the Great: from which we ſee that Alexander cauſed ſnow to be preſerved, much in the ſame manner that it now is in Italy and Sicily. At the ſiege of an Indian town, he ordered thirty trenches to be dug near each other, filled with ſnow, and covered with oak boughs: becauſe, ſaid Chares, the ſnow in this manner was the longer preſerved.

A poet,

A poet, named Stratis, thus ſpeaks:

Οἶνον γαρ πιειν ὐκ ἀν εἰς
Δεξαιτο θερμον, ἀλλα πολυ τναντιον,
Τυχομενον ἐν τῳ φρεατι, χιονι μεμιγμενον.

"No one willingly drinks warm wine: but "rather ſuch as has been cooled in ſprings, "and mixed with ſnow."

Athenæus likewiſe quotes an epigram, by Simonides, the chief ſubject of which is ſnow.

Την ῥα ποτ' Ὀυλυμποιο περι πλευρας ἐκαλυψεν
Ὠκος ἀπο Θρηκης ορνυμενος Βορεης,
Ἀνδρων δ' ἀχλαινων ἐδακε φρενας, ἀυταρ ἐκαμφθη
Ζωη Πιερινην γην ἐπιεσσαμενη,
Ἐν τις ἐμοι 'γ'αυτης χεετω μερος. ὀυ γαρ ἐοικε
Θερμην Βασαρειν ἀνδρι φιλῳ προποσιν.

"Rapidly ruſhing from Thrace, Boreas "ſcattered this ſnow on the ſides of Olym-"pus. Unmantled men pierced he with cold "pains: but how mild did he become, when "he was living lodged in Pierian earth! I "therefore cannot think it ſeemly to offer "warm water to a friend, as his firſt beverage "at a banquet."

Caſaubon ſays, γην ἐπιεσσαθαι: *dicuntur mortui quando ſunt ſepulti, ac terra ceu veſte amicti.*

The

The people of that time preſerved ſnow in caverns, as at preſent. Simonides was a contemporary of Xerxes.

Landolina took me in the evening to the houſe of a lying-in lady, who received viſitors at the baptiſm of her child: and here I met the whole nobility of Syracuſe; who, for a city of eighteen thouſand ſouls in which there is no court, are very numerous. The animation of the females reminded me of the women of ancient Syracuſe; of whom Theocritus, in one of his Idyllions, gives us ſo lively a picture.

The young lady had been five days delivered, and ſeemed to be perfectly in health, and only to keep her bed out of decorum. She was very cheerful. No one would have thought that her mother had borne fourteen living children, and had had twelve miſcarriages. If, as ſome people maintain, hot countries are not favourable to population, and if the women too ſoon become old, Italy and Sicily at leaſt are exceptions, to the rule; for here the female flower enjoys a durable ſpring, and its late autumn is ſtill productive of fruit.

In Syracuſe, as in Calabria, we meet with many

many fair-haired and freſh coloured women. In the weſt of Sicily, they are nearly as brown as in Apulia: and the difference is as ſtriking between the women of Taranto and the other women of Apulia; for, at Taranto, I ſaw ſeveral that might have been taken for German or Engliſh women.

Moſt of the women that I have met with, in both kingdoms, are friendly and *naïve*.

I have read, in a late book of German travels, that the women of Sicily only give milk with one breaſt; that they ſuffer the milk of the other to dry away; and that they imagine the nutritive powers of their milk are thus improved.

Travellers ſhould be very certain of any fact, by which the manners of a whole nation may be miſrepreſented, before they make ſuch aſſertions. I have enquired in Meſſina, in Trapani, and in Syracuſe, and have been aſſured of the very reverſe. No man had ever heard of any ſuch cuſtom.

On the 27th, we went with Landolina on board a boat; and ferried over the great haven, which is five Italian miles, or a ſhort German mile, in circumference; and which receives the river *Anapo*: the *Anapus* of the ancients,

ancients. Some writer ſays that Charles the Fifth, from the fear of pirates, deſtroyed this haven: but Charles the Fifth was not ſo puſillanimous. He would not have been induced, by any ſuch fear, to have deſtroyed the beſt haven in his empire; or in Europe. So far was it from being deſtroyed that, in the preſent century, after the war of the ſucceſſion, the Engliſh, Spaniſh, and French, fleets all anchored there at the ſame time; and, during the war between the Ruſſians and Turks, which was concluded but two years ago, the Ruſſian Empreſs obtained permiſſion of the King of the Two Sicilies to harbour in this haven, with a fleet that was to ſail from Cronſtadt. The unexpected and ſudden breach of peace, that happened with the King of Sweden, was the cauſe that this fleet remained in the Baltic.

It was in this haven that the fleet of Athens, ſent againſt Syracuſe, was deſtroyed. After other preceding combats, a laſt and deciſive battle, in one day, ſunk ſixty of the Athenian galleys. We ſaw the place where the army of the Athenians was encamped; and the marſh, the pernicious exhalations of which infected it with the plague.

Leaving the great haven, we proceeded through the mouth of the Anapo up the ſtream. You know how cuſtomary it was, in the writings of the Greeks and Romans, to vaunt of their rivers. Theocritus calls this μεγαν ῥοον; the great ſtream; and it has indeed the reputation of being the only navigable river in Sicily. But it is navigable for nothing larger than a boat; and this advantage it ſhares with the ſtream that flows from the fountain *Ciane*. Its ſhores are pleaſant; and are ſhaded by tall reeds, which grow to the height of ten ells, poplars, and the wild fig tree and vine. Many nightingales charmed us with their ſong.

We proceeded up the Ciane, Κυανη, which runs into the Anapo, till we came to its very ſource; where it ſoon divides itſelf into two branches, which have poetically been called the arms of *Cyane*: becauſe the Nymph Cyane here endeavoured to oppoſe the rape of Proſerpine: for which ſhe was changed into a fountain by the angry Pluto. The deſcription of this metamorphoſis by Ovid is very beautiful *.

Diodorus relates the tradition in another

* Ovid. Met. lib. v. 411.

manner.

manner. Pluto conducted the ravished Proserpine to the fields of Enna, and here rent the earth; through which he descended, with his prize, to his infernal empire: and, at the place of his descent, he caused a spring to rise *.

Hercules, when he brought the cattle of Geryon from Spain to Greece, passed through Sicily; where he taught the Siculi to sacrifice to Proserpine, and threw the most beautiful of his bulls into this fountain †.

The Syracusians held an annual festival; on which, following the example of Hercules, they threw bulls into the fountain. Cyane, like the fields of Enna, was in particular consecrated to Proserpine ‡.

This spring is so very large that some of the ancients have called it a lake. It is clear, has a bed of rock, the stone of which is blue, and the fish have a beautiful blue colour, such as I never saw in fish before, with the polish of the goldfish. I conjecture that this was the origin of the name *Cyane:* for *Cyaneus*, in Greek, signifies a dark blue colour.

* Diod. l. v. vol. i. p. 333.

† Diod. l. iv and v.

‡ Diod. l. v. vol. i. p. 333.

Great quantities of the *papyrus*, which is now in bloom, grows on the banks of the Ciane. It continues to produce new ſprouts through the year; and its root is odoriferous. It is a kind of Cyperus; and attains the height of ſeven, or eight, and even of ten, ells. Landolina has been imitating the ancients, who produced their paper from this plant; from which likewiſe paper has been made under his ſuperintendance. It is ſtrong, thin, and tolerably white; but does not fold ſo eaſily as ours, which in every reſpect is much preferable.

It muſt be exceedingly pleaſant to ſail up the Anapo and the Ciane in winter: but, in ſummer, the air of theſe waters is very injurious; and moſt of us returned with the headache. We ſaw, on our paſſage, on the left of Anapo, two pillars of the temple of the Olympian Zeus: in which temple ſtood the ſtatue of the God, with the golden mantle; of which, ridiculing him after his manner, he was ſtripped by the elder Dionyſius.

"The golden mantle was ill contrived: in "ſummer it was too hot; in winter too "cold."

In the ſame manner he robbed Æſculapius of

of his beard of gold. "It was very unſeemly," he ſaid, "for a ſon to be bearded when his father, Apollo, had not a hair on his chin."

The temple of the Olympian Zeus was ſurrounded by a little town; which was called, after the building, *Olympieum*.

There are ſtill ſtanding two ancient Doric pillars, of the temple of Diana, which is mentioned by Cicero, in a houſe at Syracuſe. This temple is affirmed to have been the largeſt in Sicily: but the pillars, which I ſaw among the ruins of the temple of the Olympian Zeus in Girgenti, appear to me to be much larger. I believe indeed that theſe of Syracuſe may be of higher antiquity; and of an age when the proportion of the beautiful in architecture was yet undiſcovered. They ſtand ſo near to each other that although, according to the ancient Doric manner, their tapering upward is very great, yet their chapiters touch each other above.

The middle part of theſe pillars are in a ſtable: below which they are covered with rubbiſh: ſo that they muſt nearly touch at the bottom.

Under the church of Saint Philip is an old

well, to which you deſcend by a hundred and fifty-ſix ſteps, that is not deficient in water, and the water of which increaſes and diminiſhes with the age of the moon. A Pagan temple probably ſtood here, and the prieſts drew their conſecrated water out of this well.

At the extremity of the iſland the citadel ſtands; and an old caſtle, which was built by the Saracens; not far from which is the poetical ſpring of Arethuſa *.

The ancient fable was that an Arcadian virgin, named Arethuſa, a lover of the chace, diſdained the paſſion of the hunter, Alpheus: to avoid whom ſhe fled over to the iſland Ortygia; where ſhe was metamorphoſed into a ſpring, and her afflicted lover into a river. Love did not forſake the ſtream, but followed the beloved through the ſea, without becoming ſalt; and there mingled its waves with the waters of the virgin ſpring †.

Near this place, the bed of the ſea actually affords a ſweet ſpring; which no doubt was the origin of the fiction. Tradition farther ſays that the gods preſented Diana with the iſland of Ortygia; and that the Nymphs cauſed the beautiful ſpring of Arethuſa to riſe

* Ovid. Met. l. v. 574. † Pauſanias, l. v. c. 7.

up

up for her recreation. The fiſh of this ſpring were famous for their ſize, and quantity: nor durſt men attempt to catch them, except as it is ſaid in the time of war; and even then chaſtiſement from the Gods was the conſequence.

Daphnis invented paſtoral poetry in Sicily *. Theocritus, the greateſt of paſtoral poets, was a native of Syracuſe. Moſchus, who likewiſe wrote Idyllions, was born here; and Bion, though Smyrna was the place of his birth, reſided in Sicily. Virgil therefore invokes the Nymph Arethuſa, as the Muſe of paſtoral poetry. Who can forget the beautiful verſes with which he begins his tenth Eclogue? lamenting the unfortunate paſſion of his friend Cornelius Gallus, the poet, and ſinging the cruelty of Lycoris.

Extremum hunc, Arethuſa, mihi concede laborem.
Pauca meo Gallo, ſed quæ legat ipſa Lycoris,
Carmina ſunt dicenda: neget quis carmina Gallo?
Sic tibi, cum fluctus ſubterlabére Sicanos,
Doris amara ſuam non intermiſceat undam.

VIRG. Ecl. x. 1. 5.

Thy ſacred ſuccour, Arethuſa, bring,
To crown my labour: 'tis the laſt I ſing.

* Diod. l. v. vol. i. p. 332.

Which proud Lycoris may with pity view ;
The Muſe is mournful, tho' the numbers few,
Refuſe me not a verſe to grief and Gallus due.
So may thy ſilver ſtreams, beneath the tide,
Unmix'd with briny ſeas, ſecurely glide.

DRYDEN.

The laſt gift which Virgil requeſts of Arethuſa is a ſong for his friend. The Nymph now affords a ſpring for the laundry maids of the city; with the waters of which the bitter Doris, *Doris amara*, the Nymph of the ſea, at the time that I viſited the former, when a ſtrong wind blew, mingled her ſtreams. Although it is ſtill a large ſpring, it is now only a part of the ancient Arethuſa ; which has been deſtroyed. Neither does it any longer afford fiſh. However, when they ſink for water in the city, the concealed Arethuſa every where bubbles up.

On the 29th, we paſſed through what was formerly called Achradina to the part of the city named Tyche: both of which towns, a part only of the great Syracuſe, are now either arable lands or covered with charming fruit trees. We firſt inſpected the amphitheatre, the work of the Romans ; the whole circumference of which may evidently be traced,

traced, and many of the ſeats are ſtill in exiſtence, with the places of entering and leaving the building.

A monument like this, erected to indulge the ſanguinary temper of the Romans, was by no means ſo intereſting to me as the ancient Greek theatre; the ſeats of which, cut in the rock, are in good preſervation.

Nothing of the ſcene, or ſtage, is now to be ſeen: but the proper and beautiful theatre itſelf is therefore the more conſpicuous. On one of the ſeats the following words are cut: Βασιλισσας Φιλιϛιδος: the Queen Philiſtis.

This queen may create many hiſtorical enquiries. Some affirm ſhe was the wife of Gelo; and that, through her mediation, the hero granted peace to the Carthaginians: in conſequence of which they preſented her with a crown of gold, that was worth a hundred talents. This queen cauſed money to be coined: which was called after her Demaretion *.

But her name was Demareta, and not Philiſtis; and, what is more, the coins of the Queen Philiſtis are not confined to a ſingle period. Her reign muſt have been long; for,

* Diod. l. xi. vol. i. p. 424.

on

on ſome of them, ſhe is repreſented as young: on others as old: yet both diſcover the features of the ſame countenance, and both are inſcribed with the ſame name. On the reverſe of the coin, there is a four-horſed chariot. It was a delicate Greek thought to repreſent her on the coins, while young, as drawn by fiery ſteeds, full ſpeed; and to give the old Philiſtis a chariot with the horſes pacing ſlowly.

Thoſe who, to ſupport a hypotheſis, pretend that Gelo, to teſtify his love for his wife, cauſed money to be coined at ſeveral times ſtamped with her name and image, forget that Gelo himſelf reigned only ſeven years.

Some are perſuaded that the inſcription on the ſtone proves the theatre to have been built by the queen; and they further conclude that it muſt have been very ancient: becauſe that we know of no queen, of this name, who governed in Syracuſe after the time of Gelo. That Philiſtis muſt have reigned before Gelo is beyond all doubt: but it is equally indubitable that neither ſhe nor Gelo built the theatre. The poet Æſchylus lived in the time of Gelo; and perſonally fought againſt

againſt Xerxes, at the battle of Salamin: as he has ſo beautifully ſung, in one of his remaining tragedies. As a poet, he was later known: he was the firſt who gave a form to tragedy. He was the friend that led Melpomene from the car, on which ſhe had been wandering, to a ſtage of wood, of a moderate ſize.

——— *modicis inſtravit pulpita tignis.*
HOR. Ars Poet.

My conjecture is that this noble theatre was built during the ſixty years that elapſed, between the expulſion of Thraſybulus and the ſubjection of Syracuſe by Dionyſius. If not, either by Dionyſius himſelf, or very probably by Hiero the Second.

Near the theatre is the end of an aqueduct, which is led through rocks fourteen Italian miles, and is well ſupplied with good water.

In this neighbourhood there are many tombs, cut in the rock; between which there is a ſtreet, or road, where the ſteps of the horſes, and the deep ruts of wheels, may evidently be traced. It was here that Cicero diſcovered the tomb of Archimedes, among brambles; which was neglected by and unknown

known to the people of Syracuſe. A ſphere and a cylinder, ſtanding on a ſmall pillar, denoted the place where the great man ſlept: while it preſerved the remembrance of his diſcoveries of the relation between the cylinder and the ſphere.

The remark of Rollin is acute, and charming; where he ſays that this decoration, of the tomb of Archimedes, was entirely in the ſpirit of that great man: who placed more value on a mathematical demonſtration than on thoſe dreadful engines by which he had repulſed the Roman army *.

The pretended Ear of Dionyſius is one of the *latomiæ*, or ſtone quarries; of which there are more in Syracuſe. You have heard of, and will be inclined with me to laugh at, the tradition of Dionyſius having given this priſon the form of an ear; and of his having conſtructed it with ſo much acouſtic art that he, unſeen, could hear the wailings and groans of the priſoners, or liſten to their converſations. That this place was at firſt no other than a ſtone quarry, like the other *latomiæ* of Syracuſe, and that it was afterward uſed as a priſon, is beyond all doubt. Holes may be

* *Rollin, Hiſtoire Anc.* livre xx. art. iii. ſect. i.

ſeen

ſeen in the hewn ſtones; through which probably rings were riveted, to which the fetters of the priſoners were attached. The imagination may eaſily give the form of the bend of the ear, the end of which was directed upward, to the entrance of this place. This might be the origin of the name; and afterward of the falſe interpretation.

The work is wonderful, and has different diviſions; ſome of which are overarched, others are fallen in, and maſſes of rock, which ſerved as pillars, now riſe in the open air. The firſt diviſion is thus overarched by rocks; and here there is a loud echo. We fired a gun, the report of which continued ſlowly to thunder round. Here there is a water reſervoir, the arching of which is ſupported by pillars. Among the ruins, there is a decayed ſtaircaſe, which Landolina diſcovered; who ſuppoſes it to be that down which Dionyſius, according to I know not what author, cauſed thoſe principal perſons to be taken whoſe arreſt he wiſhed to conceal.

Some years ago, a bath was found in the city, to which there is a deſcent of forty-five ſteps; and, on the level of this there is a round well, the water of which is beneficial;

if uſed as a bath, by the diſeaſed. This bath is entirely hewn in the rock; and there is a particular aperture, by which the water that had been uſed might be drawn off.

On the 30th, we went on board a *ſperonare*, and viſited the little haven; which was called, by the ancients, *Laccius;* where we yet could find traces of the dock yard, which the elder Dionyſius built *, and which he encloſed by the walls of his citadel.

Leaving the *ſperonare*, we went up into Achradina, and entered a Franciſcan monaſtery; where we were ſhewn a beautiful recumbent ſtatue of St. Lucia, the work of Vanini. The Saint is ſuppoſed to be dead, and her death reſembles ſleep. In one of her hands a crucifix lies, as if ſhe had beſtowed upon it her laſt graſp; and in the other, a palm branch, which ſhe gained by ſuffering martyrdom. She is honoured at Syracuſe as the patron Saint.

In this monaſtery there was a dog that, ſome years ago, performed an action which I cannot paſs over in ſilence; becauſe it denotes plan, dignity, and courage. The country was ravaged by a wolf, to the attacking of

* Diod. l. xiii.

which

which the dog found himſelf unequal. The dog continued for ſome days to make a proviſion of meat, and bones; which he concealed, and then took other dogs to the place, gave them a feaſt, led them to the chace, and in company with them deſtroyed the wolf.

Near the Franciſcan monaſtery ſtands that of the Capuchins; in whoſe garden is the great ſtone quarry, which properly conſiſts of two *latomiæ*. This greatly exceeds in extent, that which is called the Ear of Dionyſius; and no doubt is the quarry to which the Athenian priſoners were condemned, and in which they were ſo ill treated *.

There are various ſtone quarries in Syracuſe; I am told, as many as nine; but this is the largeſt, and the one that is mentioned by Cicero in an oration againſt Verres, where he celebrates its grandeur †. The art, the amplitude,

* Thuc. lib. vii. p. 504. Diod. lib. xiii. vol. i. p. 567.

† *Opus eſt ingens magnificum regum ac tyrannorum. Totum eſt ex ſaxo in mirandam altitudinem depreſſo et multorum operis penitus exciſo. Nihil tam clauſum ad exitus, nihil tam ſeptum undique, nihil tam tutum ad cuſtodias nec fieri nec cogitari poteſt. Carcer ille eſt a crudeliſſimo tyranno Dionyſio factus.* "This work of kings and tyrants is vaſt and magnificent. "It is entirely cut in the rock to a prodigious depth by the "labour

plitude, and the boldneſs, of the undertaking are aſtoniſhing. The rocks are hewn to an incredible depth; and are in parts arched over, and in parts the arches have fallen in: and the combination of the arched and unarched vaults, the pillars, the projecting maſſes, and the caverns, with their perſpective openings, form a whole which is unique in its kind.

In theſe depths, the Capuchins have a large pleaſant garden; the towering fruit trees of which, ſheltered from the wind, delight the eye, by their extraordinary and luxuriant productiveneſs, at the moment that, terrified by the bold rocks and gloomy caverns, it is in need of this relief. Some of theſe trees riſe out of the rock, where they firſt take root in ſmall cavities; which cavities are widened by the ſlow but unremitting growth of the root, that continues to extend, in length and

"labour of multitudes. Nothing more ſecure in its "doors and paſſages, nothing better encloſed, nothing in "every reſpect more guarded can be effected or conceived. "This dungeon was the work of the tyrant Dionyſius."

Cicero does not mean to ſay that Dionyſius conſtructed theſe *latomiæ*; but that he employed them as the moſt ſtrong and ſecure priſons. He ſays, on the contrary, that they were the work of many kings, and tyrants.

breadth,

breadth, till a conſiderable cleft is at laſt produced. The thick ſtemmed olive tree winds its rugged knotty roots, wherever the rocky cavities conduct their growth, or the ſoftneſs of the ſtone yields to their different ramifications; and, after it has conquered all its difficulties, it rears its leafy branches as if proud of its victory, and its power. From the upward rim of the rock, the ivy, and the wild vine, hang; and extend downward to where the cool air ſports with their ſuſpended ſhoots. The garden grape clings to the terrific maſſes of rock, where the fig and the pomegranate tree are aiding to ſupport its ſcions.

The Capuchins cultivate for their own uſe a yellow tobacco plant, which produces a well ſcented ſnuff.

The monaſtery is poor; and is maintained by preſents in money to the monks, in return for the excellent fruit of their garden.

Some ancient tombs are found in theſe quarries.

The catacombs are in what was formerly called Achradina; where there is the moſt ancient church of Syracuſe, in which the firſt biſhop, Marcianus, who is ſaid to have been ſent by the apoſtle Peter, is buried.

On one of the ſteps of this church is the following Latin inſcription: which is probably Pagan.

MEMORIA DOMINICI MACEDONIS.

Lege et recede. Amici, nolite triſtari, quia omnes mortales ſumus.

"TO THE MEMORY OF DOMINICUS MACEDO.

"*Read and retire. Friends, afflict not yourſelves, for we all are mortal* *."

Melancholy conſolation!

The catacombs, ſome only of which I have ſeen, extended under the greateſt part of the ancient city: yet I doubt whether their extent is greater than thoſe of Naples; at leaſt they are not ſo deep, though they exceed them in melancholy magnificence. They form a true labyrinth; where a man may wander by the light of torches from tomb to tomb, and, were he not attended by a practiſed guide, there he might for ever wander. Broad paſſages continually lead to round arched chambers of the dead, which have outlets on four ſides that again ſerve as paſſages to ſimilar

* As, in the corrupt Latin of theſe ages *quia* was often uſed inſtead of *quod*, we may read, "*that* we all are mortal."

chambers. On the ſides of the paſſage there is tomb behind tomb, ſometimes to the number of twenty; like the compartments of a bureau, one behind another. The laſt compartment therefore was always the firſt filled with dead bodies; to depoſit which the bearers muſt continually aſcend over the other diviſions.

We met with Greek and Latin inſcriptions; and there are ſome, which I did not happen to find, that are of Chriſtian times. The red incruſtation, or mortar, of which the ancients were ſo fond, is ſtill viſible on many; and which, if you clean it, recovers its ancient poliſh. This probably was likewiſe uſed in Judea; and Chriſt might allude to it, when he compares the hypocriſy of the Scribes and Phariſees to *painted* * ſepulchres. That theſe rocks were dug before there was any thought of employing them as ſepulchres, traces of an aqueduct and ſome wells ſeem to denote.

We proceeded through Achradina to Tyche, then to Neapolis, and from that to Epipolæ; the weſt part of the ancient city.

* Matt. xxiii. 27. Our tranſlation reads *whited*. T.

Here there are two ſtone quarries, one of which Cluverius ſuppoſed to be that in which the Athenian priſoners were kept: but it is not ſufficiently ſpacious.

The walls of Epipolæ are in part well preſerved, are of an aſtoniſhing height and breadth, and are built of large freeſtone. Although they were 30 ſtadia, or a geographical mile, in length, they were completed, by Dionyſius the elder, in twenty days; on the breaking out of the war with the Carthaginians. Sixty thouſand free men were employed on the work, beſide the ſtone hewers, and ſix thouſand oxen; and Dionyſius encouraged them by rewards, and by example *.

From this wall, we overlooked the whole circumference of the ancient city, the two havens of the iſland, the third on the north, which was called the Trogilian, from the village Trogilus, the peninſula Tapſus, the country to Mount Ætna, and the two marſhes Lyſimelia and Syraca: from which laſt the city derived its name.

The height of Epipolæ, from this its extenſive proſpect, is now called Belvedere.

* Diod. lib. xiv. p. 614.

Lando-

Landolina is of opinion that the fortified height, which Cluverius ſuppoſed to be *Labdalon*, was the hill *Euryelus;* and his reaſons appear to me to be convincing: for Labdalon was built by the Athenians, during the ſiege, that they might have a ſtrong place in which to depoſit their money and effects*; for which this hill was very proper. But the hill of Euryelus ſhould ſeem to be much larger: for Marcellus, before he had poſſeſſed himſelf of it, was fearful of a ſally from the garriſon. It is alſo probable that the Athenians would chooſe to conſtruct their ſtrong holds at ſome diſtance, rather than immediately under the walls. Add to which, there ſtill exiſts a ſubterranean paſſage, that extends from this broad hill under the walls: and laſtly that Labdalon is not mentioned by Livy; and that probably, when the Athenian war was ended, the Athenian work was deſtroyed.

It was on this ſide that Marcellus entered the city.

I have more than once reminded you that the preſent Syracuſe conſiſts only of a ſmall

* Thuc. lib. vi. Liv. xxv. 26.

part of the ancient; and that it is built on the little iſland which was called Ortygia.

Diodorus, himſelf a Sicilian, agrees with his countrymen in maintaining that Diana was born in this iſland. Other Greeks affirm that her birth place was the iſland of Rhenæa; which, according to the teſtimony of Strabo, was formerly called Ortygia *. This iſland lies ſo near to the iſland of Delos that Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, united them both by a chain †. Homer, in his hymn to Apollo, ſpeaks of this eaſtern Ortygia, near Delos, when he ſays

Χαιρε μακαιρ' ω Λητοι, ἐπει τεκες αγλαα τεκνα,
'Απολλωνα τ' ἀνακτα, και 'Αρτεμιν ἰοχεαιραν,
Την μεν ἐν 'Ορτυγιῃ, τον δε κραναῃ ἐνι Δηλῳ.

Hail, mother of the famous children! Hail,
Latona! Phœbus thine; and Artemis,
Delighting in the bow. Delos received
Thy ſon: thy daughter in Ortygia born.

Yet Homer appears, in the fifth book of the Odyſſey, to ſpeak of the Syracuſian Ortygia, when he makes Calypſo ſay that the Gods had envied the love of Eos, or Aurora, to Orion; and that, at laſt, Artemis had

* Strab. lib. x. † Thuc. lib. iii. cap. 104.

ſlain

ſlain him in Ortygia. And, in the fifteenth book of the Odyſſey, Eumæus tells Ulyſſes that there is an iſland called Syria, beyond the iſland of Ortygia, from which the ſun's diurnal motion is ſeen. Muſt not this iſland of Syria be a part of Sicily? Can we not trace its name in the word Syracuſe? The ſun there turned round becauſe the ancients, in the time of Homer, believed that thoſe who ſhould have paſſed the pillars of Hercules would have paſſed beyond the courſe of the ſun. Eumæus likewiſe ſays that Phœnician ſhips came there; and the Phœnicians were early traders to Sicily *.

The iſland, or the preſent Syracuſe, is connected with the continent by a dam; which is cut through by four canals: ſo that four bridges are to be paſſed. If I do not miſtake, the repairing of the dam, the cutting of the

* Since I wrote this, I met with the following remark, in Voſs's Odyſſey, 1781. "*Syria*, probably the cape on "which Syracuſe ſtands; which formerly either was an "iſland or a peninſula, or was ſo ſuppoſed to be by Ho-"mer, who had but a ſlight knowledge of theſe countries. "The iſland of Ortygia was famous among the Greeks, "for being the birth place of Artemis. Perhaps the Phœ-"nicians had a ſun-dial here; which ſhewed the ſolſtices "and the equinoxes."

canals, and the building of the bridges, were the work of the Emperor, Charles the Fifth.

I will not conclude my letter without mentioning an ancient cuſtom, which has been continued in Syracuſe for 2200 years.

After the victory over the Athenians, a tree was hung round with arms, by way of trophy: τροπαιον. This was annually repeated, in memory of the great event; and deſcended from generation to generation. The ſolemn proceſſion has ceaſed: but a tree is erected on the firſt of May before the Senate-houſe, and during the whole month no man is allowed to arreſt a debtor. A few years ago, thoſe citizens who were at that time under arreſt were ſet free; that they might partake of the public joy, and endeavour to ſatisfy their creditors. A cuſtom ſo humane as this ought not to be aboliſhed.

ADDITION TO LETTER XCII.

ON the 27th of January, 1794, I received a letter from my friend Landolina, the knight of Malta, ſent me from Syracuſe, containing the following deſcription of a phænomenon

of the ſpring of Arethuſa; which I have no doubt will be intereſting to my readers.

Il giorno 17 *del corrente luglio, l'acque dell' Aretuſa, alle ore ſei della ſera, incominciò a ſcorrere, torbida in tutte le diverſe ſorgenti che ſcorrono dentro il gran porto; ed anche la ſorgente che é in mezzo del mare ſgorgava torbida dal letto del mare. Il colore che dava era roſſiccio oſcuro; ma dentro il bicchiere ſembrava acqua torbida, e laſciava nel ſedimento una polvere ſottiliſſima cenericcia.*

Il ſapore dell' acqua, che prima era ſalmaſtro, divenne dolce perfettamente. Notai che per tutta la città le acque ſorgive che ſono incavate nella pietra, e che ſervono di pozzi alle caſe delli ſingoli, non erano alterate nel colore, e nel ſapore erano piu raddolcite di prima. Durò tre giorni queſta torbidezza, che mancava di giorno in giorno, e laſciava fra le pietre per le quali ſcorreva, un ſedimento cenericcio.

Il giorno 21 *al tramontar del ſole, ſeccò totalmente la fonte di Aretuſa, con tutte le altre acque che ſcorrono vicino alla medeſima dalle diverſe ſorgenti che mettono la loro foce nel gran porto; e ſi riduſſe totalmente ſecco il letto delle àcque, tantochè vi concorſe molta gente, e a piedi aſciutti entrarono dentro la grotta per dove ſotterancamente*

mente ſcorre l'acqua. La ritrovarono incavata dall' arte, e che era diſtante dell luogho dove ſi vede a cielo aperto circa quaranta palmi.

Nel fine di queſta grotta era una feſſura nella pietra, per la quale ſgorgava l'acqua. Per tutta la lunghezza della grotta furono preſe moltiſſime anguille, che reſtarono nel letto. Dopo ſette minuti ritornò l'acqua, a poco a poco, e la mattina del giorno 22 *era abondante come prima. Ma é reſtata ancora dolce.*

" On the 17th of the preſent July (1793) " the water of the ſpring Arethuſa, at 6 " o'clock in the evening, began to run in a " turbid manner from all the different ſources " which empty themſelves into the great ha- " ven." (We muſt remember that theſe aſſociate ſprings are the conſequences of the decay of the now much leſs Arethuſa, with which they have a ſubterranean communication). " The ſpring likewiſe that is in the " ſea roſe turbid from its bed." (Meaning the ancient Alpheus.) " The colour of the " water was a dark red; and, being put into " a glaſs, it appeared foul, and left a ſediment " of exceedingly fine aſhes.

" The taſte of the water, which before was " brackiſh, then became perfectly freſh. It

" was

" was remarked, through the whole city, that
" the water, which roſe in the ſtone wells and
" which was uſed in the houſes of the citizens,
" was not altered in its colour; though in its
" taſte it was more freſh, or ſoft, than uſual.
" This turbid ſtate of the ſprings continued
" for three days; but gradually declined, and
" left a ſediment of aſhes between the ſtones
" over which it ran.

" On the 21ſt at ſunſet, the ſpring of Are-
" thuſa, with all the other waters that riſe in
" its vicinity, and that empty themſelves into
" the great haven, became totally dry: ſo that
" the ground was entirely free from water:
" inſomuch that many people ran and exa-
" mined the inſide of the ſubterranean grotto,
" from which the water iſſued, without wet-
" ting their feet. This grotto they found had
" been dug by art; and the diſtance between
" the farther end of the grotto and the place
" where they could ſee the ſky was about
" forty palms.

" At this farther end, there was a fiſſure in
" the rock, through which the water roſe.
" Through the whole extent of the grotto, its
" bed was covered with innumerable eels.
" After a ceſſation of ſeven minutes, the water
" began

" began to return by degrees; and, on the " morning of the 22d, it was as abundant as " before: but it ſtill continues to be freſh."

Landolina likewiſe remarks that ſimilar phænomena, no doubt, have given riſe as well to the ſuppoſition of the credulous ancients, that the water of Arethuſa was changed into blood, as to that of the philoſophers, who have ſeriouſly maintained that the colour of the water was made red by the blood of the animals ſacrificed at Olympia. Such commentators, to their penetrative acumen, add the credulity of ſuppoſing a ſubterranean communication between the river of Peloponneſus and the Sicilian ſpring.

Landolina farther adds, in his letter, *In queſto ſecolo, però in cui ſbandita la ſuperſtizione, ſi ricerca nella natura l'origine di tali fenomeni, mi conviene ridurne la cagione alle vulcaniche materie; che fermentando aprono voragini, chiudono meati, riempiſcono caverne, e fanno cambiare il corſo delle acque dentro le viſcere della terra.* " In this age, while we baniſh " ſuperſtition and enquire into nature for the " origin of ſuch phænomena, it appears rea- " ſonable to me to attribute them to volcanic " materials; that fermenting open gulphs, " cloſe

" close up apertures, fill caverns, and change
" the course of the waters within the bowels
" of the earth."

LETTER XCIII.

Catania, 5th July 1792.

ON the 2d of July at mid-day, we went on board a vessel at Syracuse; hoping, by the aid of a favourable wind, to reach Catania in four hours: but the wind fell, and became variable; and we did not arrive at this place till half after eleven at night. During our passage, we saw Ætna right before us; and when it was dark the red stream of lava became visible.

Catania, which in ancient times was called *Catana*, was one of the first of the old Greek colonies. It was founded by the same people from Chalcis who, but a short time before, in the first year of the 13th Olympiad, 726 years before Christ, had made a settlement at Leontium. A part of them effected a settlement

ment here, under their choſen leader Euarchus *.

Charondas, the famous lawgiver and a ſcholar of Pythagoras, was a native of Catana. The univerſity of Catania may juſtly boaſt of being one of the moſt ancient ſeats of the ſciences †.

Two hundred and forty-nine years after the founding of this place, Hiero the Firſt, the brother of Gelo, tranſported the inhabitants of Naxos and Catana to Leontium; and peopled the two empty towns partly with Peloponneſians, and partly with Syracuſians. To Catana, which received ten thouſand new in-

* Thuc. lib. vi. cap. iii. p. 379.

† See Weſſeling's remarks on Diodorus: vol. i. p. 485: where he proves that Charondas was not only the lawgiver of Thuria but of his native place, Catana, and of the other towns of Italy, and Sicily, that received colonies from Chalcis. Theſe were in Italy Rhegium, in Sicily Zancle, Naxus, Leontium, Catana, Eubœa, Mylæ, Himera, and Callipolis. Ariſtotle ſays of Charondas that, except his laws againſt falſe witneſſes, nothing was properly his own; but that no lawgiver of his (Ariſtotle's) age could be compared to him in preciſion, and elegant perſpicuity of expreſſion. Χαρωνδᾶ δ' ἰδιον· μεν ϗδεν ἐϛι τλην αἱ δικαι των ψευδομαρτυρων. πρωτος γαρ εποιησε την επισκεψιν. τη δ' ἀκριβεια των νομων ἐϛι γλαφυρωτερος καὶ τῶν νῦν νομοθετων. Ariſtotelis Pol. lib. ii. c. 12.

habitants,

habitants, he gave the name of Ætna: at the foot of which mountain it is built. To theſe inhabitants he granted, not only the ancient lands of Catana, but others from the neighbouring territories. This he did, in part to obtain warriors, on whom he could depend; and in part that, after his death, he might be honoured as a hero, or ranked among the Gods*.

He died in Catana; and, as he wiſhed, was there honoured as a hero, becauſe he was there conſidered as the ſecond founder of the town.

In the fourth year of the 79th Olympiad, 459 years before Chriſt, Ducetius, the leader of the Siculi, bore arms againſt Catana; becauſe its citizens had robbed him of part of his territory. It was likewiſe attacked by the Syracuſians, in revival of old claims; and, after various defeats, the inhabitants of Catana, or Ætna, were obliged to forſake their town, and retire to Ineſſa †: to which place they then gave the name of Ætna.

* Diod. lib. xi. vol. i. p. 440.

† Cluverius and Weſſeling prove that, in the text of Diodorus, inſtead of Ἔνησιον we ought to read Ἴνησσαν. According to Cluverius, this is the place where the monaſtery of Saint Nicholas now ſtands; twelve Italian miles from Catania, on the ſide of Mount Ætna.

The

The former inhabitants of Catana now repoſſeſſed themſelves of their town, and again called it by its former name. In the ſecond year of the 94th Olympiad, 403 years before Chriſt, Dionyſius the elder took Catana, ſold the inhabitants, and ceded the town to the people of Campania *.

There was a family in Catana that was called Ευσεβιες: or the pious. It happened once, when Mount Ætna ſhed its fire over the town, two of the inhabitants only were thoughtful enough to protect their parents: one of whom bore away his father, and the other his mother. The river of fire overtook them; but immediately behind them divided itſelf into two ſtreams, and left them unhurt. This happened before the time of Alexander: yet, during the life of Pauſanias, who lived in the Auguſtan age, this family continued to be revered †.

A Roman colony was ſent hither, under the reign of Auguſtus. Great remains of antiquity ſtill exiſt in Catania. A part of the *Thermæ*, or warm baths, are in good preſervation; and probably we ſhould have ſeen more of them, had not the cathedral been built over

* Diod. l. xiv. vol. i. p. 651. † Pauſan. lib. x. c. 28.

them.

them. A ſubterranean octagonal hall appears to me to be ſtill uninjured; and aqueducts, that ſupplied the water, are partly ſtill in exiſtence, and work mills.

The gymnaſium ſtood near the thermæ, and muſt have been very large; for, though a great part of it was overwhelmed by the lava of the year 1669, there ſtill exiſts, on each ſide, a ſpacious ſtreet that belonged to it with many arcades.

Near the gymnaſium are the large ruins of the theatre, where not many of the ſeats of the ſpectators are preſerved: but, as from a part of the half circle its circumference may be determined, and as we ſtill ſee the place where the ſtage began, we can eaſily form an eſtimate of the breadth of the whole from its viſible length. The paſſages are ſome of them in good preſervation, and ſo are the ſtaircaſes of the three different ſtories, and many of the *vomitoria*. The late Prince Biſcari has removed the rubbiſh, under which it lay, at his own expence.

The Catanians affirm that it was in this theatre that Alcibiades made the oration, by which he fixed the attention of the people till the Athenian warriors had got poſſeſſion of the

town. Thucydides and Diodorus mention the ſtratagem, but not the theatre.

Annexed to the great theatre is a ſmaller one, covered in, which was called the *Odeum:* but no one knows for what purpoſe the *Odeum* was intended. The name appears to ſignify that it was deſigned for muſic: its very roof ſeems to denote that this was its deſtination. Of the *Odeum* in Catania the external circumference only is now to be ſeen. Like the theatre of Marcellus in Rome, the greateſt part of it is changed into habitations for poor families.

What is ſaid of certain beaſts, that, having taſted of blood, from blood they cannot refrain, may be juſtly ſaid of the Romans; who, having once accuſtomed themſelves to the ferocious combats of ſavage animals, and more ſavage men, could not exiſt without ſuch ſpectacles. There are large remains of a Roman amphitheatre ſtill ſtanding in Catania.

The lower part, for it conſiſted of three orders, is covered with rubbiſh. Much of the ſecond order is remaining, but little of the third; for, in the time of Theodoric, King of the Goths, the ſtones were taken away and uſed for building the city.

Catania has ſeveral times been viſited by earthquakes, and the rivers of fire that are poured out by Ætna. In the ſpring of the third year of the 88th Olympiad, 424 years before Chriſt, the fiery lava iſſued from the mountain, and laid deſolate the territory of Catana *.

In the year 1669, Catania ſuffered miſerably from the terrible eruption of the mountain. The lava flowed in a broad and deep ſtream toward the town. The farther it departed from the mouth of the volcano the more ſlowly it flowed, and the leſs fluid it became. Inſtead of melting away the walls, as had been expected, it was ſtopped by them, roſe above them, and flowed over them.

Two remarkable phænomena were produced by this lava; the traces of which will continue till they are removed by ſome earthquake, or ſome new eruption. On the weſt of the town ſtood the ancient Benedictine monaſtery, which now conſtitutes only a ſmall part of the former building. Toward the walls of this monaſtery a high ſtream of lava flowed, ſurrounded it on ſeveral ſides,

* Thuc. lib. iii.

and remained without touching it immediately before the wall. The aſpect of the indurated maſs is very remarkable.

Another ſtream of lava overflowed that arm of the river *Giudicello*, which was called *Canale del Duca*; and, as the water was much valued, the inhabitants made a deep opening through the condenſed lava, from which iſſued a copious ſtream: and the clear water now continues to run from the vaulted lava, like ſprings from a grotto of rock.

The river *Giudicello* is the *Amenas* or *Amenanus*, of the ancients. The *Amenas* is mentioned by Pindar, in his firſt Pythian ode. It riſes in Mount Ætna; and its principal ſtream is frequently inviſible, and divides itſelf into many ſubterranean branches: but it flows through the town above the ground. Ovid ſays of it

——— *Sicanias volvens Amenanus arenas*
Nunc fluit, interdum ſuppreſſis fontibus aret.

OVID. l. xv. 279.

Large Amenane, impure with yellow ſands,
Runs rapid often and as often ſtands.

DRYDEN, v. 428.

It is now inviſible; and it richly ſupplied the numerous

numerous aqueducts of the ancient town, ſeveral of which are yet remaining *.

The earthquake of the year 1169 was a dreadful one; and, according to Amico, 14,000 of the inhabitants of Catania were deſtroyed, at the ſame time that the fields were deſolated by the ſtreaming fires of Ætna.

Both theſe terrors of nature again viſited Catania in the laſt century; when, in the year 1693, the town by an earthquake was nearly reduced to a pile of ruins.

Catania however roſe out of its rubbiſh with reviving beauties. The broad ſtreets are now carried in a right-line direction, and handſomely built. As it enjoys both a conſiderable trade and is ſituated in one of the moſt fertile parts of the moſt fertile country of Europe, its inhabitants feel the bleſſings of proſperity: and, in the year 1783, when a great part of Meſſina was thrown down by the earthquake, Catania at its own expence aided in rebuilding that city. In population, it is the ſecond place in Sicily: the number of its inhabitants is continually increaſing, nor is this number limited by its walls.

According to the eſtimate of ſome perſons,

* Vid. Lex. Top. Sic.

Catania contains eighty thouſand people: but the ſanguine Sicilians and Italians muſt be cautiouſly truſted, when they form theſe eſtimates of their own numbers. At the time that Amico wrote his valuable *Lexicon Topographicum Siculum*, which may be about thirty years ago, the number of inhabitants was given at twenty-five thouſand eight hundred and forty-eight; which number may probably have increaſed to forty thouſand ſouls.

The Benedictine monaſtery is a magnificent building. Theſe monks formerly lived on the declivity of Ætna, at *San Nicolae della Rena*; where ſome of their lay brothers ſtill receive travellers: but, in the year 1558, they were removed to Catania; and they now only reſide in their former abode during ſome weeks of the hot ſeaſon, and the time of vintage, having been obliged to forſake it by earthquakes, and the vicinity of the volcano.

The monaſtery in Catania poſſeſſes a handſome church, the organ of which is celebrated, a large but ill arranged muſeum, a library, and two gardens that, according to the cuſtom of the country, afford no umbrageous bowers.

The ſervices rendered to this town by the late

late Prince Biſcari are well known. He was active in promoting the ſtudy of natural hiſtory, and the developing of antiquity, was a benefactor to his fellow citizens, a friend to the Muſes, and a hoſpitable hoſt to ſtrangers. His ſons, like himſelf, receive ſtrangers with friendſhip, and with unaffected amenity. The collection of their ample muſeum is much praiſed: but I am too great a novice in natural hiſtory to be able to do full juſtice to this beautiful cabinet.

They have likewiſe a very large collection of antiques. When the late Prince cauſed the rubbiſh to be removed, many pillars and ſtatues were found, that now embelliſh the muſeum. Among them was a large *Torſo*: a body, without head, hands and legs, which is very beautiful: but which of the Gods of the ancients this ſtatue repreſented I dare not hazard an opinion concerning, much leſs a deciſive judgment. When Winkelmann, from the muſcles of the back of the famous *Torſo* at Rome, imagined he could ſee the perfect ſtatue, and propheſy like the Pythia on the tripod, who could forbear to ſmile at the inebriety of this feeling man, great as his knowledge was? But the cold inebriety of ignorance is diſguſting. Riedeſel, a good judge

and a diſcerning connoiſſeur, believed this *Torſo* to be a Bacchus. It does not however appear to me to poſſeſs thoſe ſoft beauties which characterized the antique ſtatues of Bacchus. And, to thoſe who imagine it to be a Jupiter, we may anſwer that, had it been ſo, the lower part of the beard muſt now have been viſible on the breaſt.

A bronze head, of Antinous, is among the moſt beautiful heads that I have any where ſeen.

The collection is rich in little deities, or bronze and earthen Egyptian and Greek idols, tear vials, lamps, and other particulars.

The Prince collected Greek vaſes with the greater ſucceſs becauſe the remains of ancient Camarina, one of the largeſt of the Greek towns of Sicily, were within his manor: and never were more beautiful vaſes any where found.

A little blue vaſe, that looks ſomething like porcelain, is conſidered as a valuable ornament to this collection: becauſe it is believed to be a *vas murrhinum*, which was very highly valued by the ancients *.

A frag-

* It is not accurately known of what ſubſtance the *murra*, or *murrha*, of the ancients conſiſted. Pliny ſays it

A fragment of an obeliſk of Egyptian granite probably was the counterpart of another fragment of an obeliſk, that ſtands in the great place of Catania erected on the back of an elephant of lava. Both the obeliſks may have been uſed as the goals of the race courſe of the Circus, which the Romans erected. They are of Egyptian workmanſhip, as is evident from the hieroglyphics.

A ſtone which was found in *Agirone*, the ancient *Agyrium*, the native place of Diodorus Siculus, contains the following inſcription:

ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ.

"Diodorus the ſon of Apollonius."

Probably this ſtone covered the aſhes of the annaliſt, who threw ſo much light on ancient

it was brought from the Eaſt, and was held to be a humid ſubſtance, which was conſolidated by heat in the earth; and the vaſes that were made of it were famous for the play of the colours, a certain clear poliſh (*Splendor his ſine viribus, nitorque verius quam ſplendor*) and their odour. The whole deſcription of Pliny is maſterly. *Plin. Nat. Hiſt.* l. xxxvii. c. 8.

When Auguſtus took Alexandria, he ſelected nothing from the rich royal furniture but a beaker of *murrha*. *Suet. in Vit. Octav.* 71. The Prince of Biſcari has written a treatiſe on vaſes of *murrha*: the title of which is *Ragionamento de Vaſi Murrini.*

hiſtory;

hiſtory; and particularly on the hiſtory of this his native iſland.

The collection of gems, cameos, and intaglios, is excellent; and the cabinet of ancient coins is perhaps the moſt perfect in Sicily.

The late Prince cauſed a large villa to be laid out on the broad back of the lava; which, in the year 1669, flowing from Ætna, ran into the ſea. This enquiring man wiſhed to make an experiment, or rather wiſhed to afford poſterity an experiment, of the time neceſſary for human induſtry to render the lava capable of cultivation. He made a broad road, at a prodigious expence, over the ridgy and by him plained lava: on each ſide of which he filled up the hollows with earth, on which he planted trees. The decayed leaves have by time ſo ſoftened the hard ſubſtance of the lava that the tender roots, after firſt inſinuating themſelves, have continued to penetrate inceſſantly; till, by the uninterrupted but ſlow progreſs of vegetation, the lava, like the rock, has been obliged to yield. It appeared to me that, in ſome parts, the beautiful caper plant, and the Indian fig, have taken root in the already ſubſiding lava, where no earth has been laid. The huge maſſes are ſtill as hard as rock;

rock; ſome parts excepted, where the hollows retain the water: and they begin to be clothed with gray moſs, which is among the firſtlings of reviving vegetation.

The nature of lava is very different; as I evidently ſaw by comparing that near Pompeii, which had remained thirty years, and that which had remained five hundred, beſide the *Lago del Re* in the iſland of Iſchia. In both, the ſcanty commencement of vegetation is nearly equal. Nay the ſame volcano will emit different lavas, that are very diſſimilar in kind. The annals of nature are highly honourable; and are like the tables of the law, written by the hand of God: but he, who believes that in them he can diſcover their author, will not be daring enough to give any accurate eſtimate of their duration. Such a man will frequently recollect the inſcription in the temple of the Delphic Apollo:

Ου λεγει, ἀδε κρυπτει, αλλα σημαινει.

"He ſays nothing, he conceals nothing, he gives tokens."

The lava of the year 1669, on which the villa of the Prince of Biſcari was laid out, by overflowing an arm of the *Giudicello*, dammed up

up its mouth and changed it into a ſtanding lake, which is ſupplied by a ſpring. As the occaſional inundations of this lake made the air unhealthy, the Prince cauſed another mouth to be dug; through which the ſuperfluous water may empty itſelf, into the ſea. Theſe waters are ſtocked with fiſh, planted with trees, and encloſed in the garden. From this garden, looking northward to the ſea, we ſaw the three conic cliffs, which were called Cliffs, or Cyclops, by the ancients: their modern name is *Gli Farigliari.*

To another private perſon, who lived before the Prince I have mentioned, and who was of the family of Cutelli, the town is indebted for its *Collegio Nobile;* or college for nobles; which is of his founding and endowing, for the reſidence and education of twenty-four of the young nobility. All who are of the family of Cutelli, or who are related to it, are admitted gratis.

The building and its external appearance are beautiful. Whether the intellectual and moral parts of this inſtitution equal its outward form, and whether the education of the pupils correſponds to the founder's intention, are particulars of which I have not been

able to obtain any good account. I only know that they are inſtructed in religion and languages, in the ſciences, horſemanſhip, fencing, and dancing.

The univerſity is the principal, and in a certain ſenſe the only, one in the iſland; for the ſtudents, in phyſic and law, who have entered themſelves at Palermo, if they wiſh for employment, muſt complete their education in Catania.

Don Giuſeppe Gioeni, who is a deſcendant of the famous houſe of Anjou, that once governed Sicily, is *Major-domo* to the queen, Chamberlain, and Profeſſor of natural hiſtory, in this univerſity. The world is eager for the publication of his hiſtory and deſcription of Ætna; from which much is expected. He poſſeſſes a large and well arranged cabinet of natural hiſtory.

The lecturer in botany, an intelligent and friendly man, has laid out a botanical garden; by which he has ſupplied a public want, as far as it was in the power of a private perſon. His ſon is to be the ſucceſſor of the father. Among many plants of many countries, we here found buck wheat, the currant buſh, and the lily of the valley, as exotics. Neither do raſpberries

raſpberries nor ſtrawberries grow in Sicily. The lily of the valley, or May lily, grows wild, as it does with us, in ſome parts of the iſland; and blows in April. It could not be the lily of which the Cyclops, Polyphemus, told the Nymph, Galatea; for that blows in winter. Neither could it be the poppy of which he ſpoke; for that blows in ſummer.

Ὦ μοι ὀτ' ἐκ ετεκεν μ' ἁ ματηρ βραγχι' εχοντα,
Ὡς κατεδον επιτιν, και ταν χερα τευ εφιλασα,
Αἰ μὴ το σομα λης· ἐφερον δε τοι ἢ κρινα λευκα,
Ἢ μακον' ἁπαλαν, ερυθρα πλαταγωνὶ ἐχοισαν.
Ἀλλα τα μεν θερεος, ταδε γινεται ἐν χειμωνι·
Ὥτ' ἐκ ἀν τοι ταῦτα φερειν ἁμα παντ' ἐδυναθην.

THEOC. id. xi. 54.

Had I, like fiſh, with fins and gills been made,
Then might I in your element have play'd;
With eaſe have div'd beneath your azure tide,
And kiſs'd your hand, though you your lips deny'd:
Brought lilies fair, or poppies red; that grow
In ſummer's ſolſtice, or in winter's ſnow.
Theſe flowers I could not both together bear
That bloom'd in different ſeaſons of the year.

FAWKES.

I have not been able to learn what white flower it is that Theocritus calls the lily. The lily of the valley blooms here in April: the great lily in ſummer. I have been told of a third

a third kind, of a medium ſize: but this likewiſe blooms in ſpring.

I have received great pleaſure from my acquaintance with Signor Franceſco Ferrara, profeſſor of natural hiſtory; for whom I brought a letter from the great Spalanzani. He is an intereſting and friendly young eccleſiaſtic; and is the better enabled to give us the information we wiſh, on our intended journey to Ætna, becauſe he is a native of the little town of Trecaſtagne, which lies at the foot of the mountain.

The people of Catania are now building a new *molo*, or ſtone dam, the better to ſecure their haven againſt the ſea; and, in order to obtain a durable cement for this work, they cauſe *pozzolana*, or volcanic earth, to be brought from Mount Veſuvius: which they uſe after the manner of the ancients; who procured *pozzolana*, before they knew what it was, to mix with lime. The mixture of earth and aſhes muſt therefore be very different at Veſuvius to what it is at Mount Ætna: ſince that of Veſuvius is thus brought to the very foot of the former mountain.

The principal trade of Catania is in corn and pot-aſhes.

LET-

LETTER XCIV.

Giarre, at the foot of Mount Ætna,
7th July 1792.

THE day before yeſterday, at four in the afternoon, we proceeded on our journey; and ſaw before us the ſmoking Ætna, the grand boundary of our tour.

The mountain was more than once concealed by clouds: nay it once began to rain, and we were alarmed leſt bad weather ſhould, to our great diſappointment, arrive at the moſt intereſting moment of our peregrination. But we were ſoon relieved: the ſky was clear, and the white pillar of ſmoke roſe before us in the blue horizon.

In the vicinity of Catania, we were ſtruck at the aſpect of the lava of the year 1669; which ſpreads a gloom over the entrance of the *Val Demone;* abundant as it is in the grandeſt beauties of nature, and, if my ſenſations do not deceive me, the moſt delightful country I have ever beheld. It contains within

within itſelf Ætna, the ſhores of the ſtraits, and the north coaſt of Sicily, as far as the *Fiume Grande;* which runs between Cefalu and Termini. The *Val di Noto* ceaſes at Catania; but, in the time of Fazello, Catania was conſidered as a part of the *Val Demone.*

The vineyards of Catania are now reckoned as a part of this province; and are planted among the black projecting lava, which is often embraced by the ſpreading branches of the vine.

Here the lower region, or *regione pie montana*, of Ætna begins. Like Veſuvius, Mount Ætna, by the influence of its volcanic air and aſhes, ſpreads round it an extraordinary fertility; and thus compenſates for the ravages it commits, ſeven fold.

Some of the ancients conſidered it as the higheſt degree of happineſs, to be able to heap all poſſible miſchief on their enemies; and all poſſible benefits on their friends. To ſuch, Ætna was a perfect image of the grandeur after which they aſpired.

Soon after we had left the town, we ſaw the two *Monti Groſſi*, in the neighbourhood of the monaſtery of *San Nicolao della Rena:* or Saint Nicholas of the Sand: twelve Italian

miles from Catania. The whole country conſiſts of volcanic matter; from the black back of which we are aſtoniſhed to ſee the verdant and vigorous produce of corn, wine, and oil. This occaſions it to be very populous; and the people appear to be induſtrious, and to enjoy their well deſerved proſperity. Their houſes are moſt of them built of lava, without any cement of mortar; and look like black ſpots, amid this dazzling vegetation. The villages Gravina, Maſcaluccia, Mazzanunciata, and Nicoloſi, follow each other in quick ſucceſſion. Beyond Mazzanunciata, on the left, there is a foreſt of oak; and, on the right, piſtachio trees. Immediately afterward, a waſte of lava ſpreads itſelf; between the high rugged maſſes of which there is a narrow path.

The village of Nicoloſi ſtands near the *Monti Groſſi:* which mountains ſwell in a ſemi-circular manner, like the two breaſts of a woman; and join each other at the bottom like the two hills at the foot of Mount Veſuvius, that emitted lava in the year 1767: which ran into the ſea, near the ruins of Pompeii. The *Monti Groſſi* of Ætna however are much more lofty. At Ætna, nature employs a ſtandard

ſtandard very different from that with which ſhe meaſures Veſuvius. The *Monti Groſſi* likewiſe roſe from the terrible eruption of the year 1669. The ſurrounding lava begins to wear a thin vegetation; and, in the bareſt parts, is generally covered with a grey moſs.

I know not whether the gloom excited by this lava be not exceeded by the black bed of aſhes, which is nearly a mile in breadth, that lies between the village of Nicoloſi and the monaſtery of *San Nicolao della Rena*. But this does but render the vines, pine trees, fruit trees, poplars, and cheſnuts, that ſurround the monaſtery, the more charming.

Here we arrived at eight in the evening: but it is only inhabited by a lay brother, belonging to the great Benedictine monaſtery of Catania; and that ſolely for the convenience of travellers.

This ancient monaſtery was founded in the year 1156; and was inhabited by the monks till the year 1558, when they removed to Catania. According to probable conjectures, it ſtands in the place where the ancient Ineſſa was built.

After having refreſhed ourſelves and our animals a little, we proceeded farther; it be-

ing then ten o'clock at night. During an hour, we saw by moonlight nothing but lava. We then arrived at the middle region of Ætna: which is likewise called the woody.

On this side, it is covered with oaks, and some beech trees: the sight of which gave us the greater pleasure because this charming tree is seldom met with in Italy, and Sicily. But neither the tree nor its foliage attains the same beauty, here, as they do in our country.

Many pines and firs formerly grew in the forests of Ætna. The elder Dionysius felled the half of his ship timber there: but, in the time of Diodorus Siculus, the growth of these trees must have ceased; as this writer expressly remarks that they had *formerly* been found here in great abundance *. Even in the time of Hiero the Second, Ætna abounded in pines: for this King caused as much timber to be felled from these forests, for the construction of his prodigious galley, as would have been sufficient for building sixty galleys †. Pindar, a contemporary of Gelo and of Hiero the First, speaks of the black-leafed heights of Ætna in his first Pythian ode.

The full moon, with interchanging hills,

* Diod. vol. i. p. 676. † Athen. lib. v.

valleys, and woods on our left, and on our right the flaming clouds of ſmoke, which, riſing over the erupting floods of fire, concealed the ſummit of the mountain from us, and which wound themſelves like a ſpiral pillar of flame, imparted to this night ſuch a combination of beauties as only can be found on this mountain; and even here but ſeldom, though not more unfrequent than dignified. Never did I before behold the moon and ſtars ſo bright, as in this high and pure region of air.

At the end of the foreſt is what is called the goat-cavern: which is a deep arching formed by the overhanging lava. When I returned the following day from the top of Ætna, and ſaw a ſhepherd paſturing his goats and ſheep in this cavern, I could not forget the goatherd of Theocritus: who, in the full feeling of his happineſs, exclaims:

Αιτνα ματερ ἐμα· Κηγω καλον αντρον ἐνοικω,
Κοιλαις ἐν πετρῃσιν· ἐχω δε τοι ὁσσ' εν ονειρῳ
Φαινονται, πολλας μεν οἰς, πολλας δε χιμαιρας.

THEOC. Id. ix. 15.

Ætna's my parent! there I love to dwell,
Where the rock-mountains form an ample cell.
And there, with affluence bleſt, as great I live
As ſwains can wiſh; or golden ſlumbers give.

By me large flocks of goats and ſheep are fed:
Their wool my pillow and their ſkins my bed.

FAWKES, 21.

Soon after this, the high deſert country began; and the air was very cold. At one o'clock in the morning, we alighted from our mules, and gave our frozen limbs the protection of another lava cavern: where we lay down under the overhanging lava, among black aſhes and ſharp angular droſs; a ſituation that would have been very welcome to us for ſome hours, had time permitted us to take this repoſe. We ſtayed only a quarter of an hour; and did but feel the cold more ſenſibly when we again continued our journey.

As the laſt was a mild winter, and the preceding ſummer had been very hot, the moderate ſun of the preſent ſummer has almoſt melted the ſnow from the back of Ætna. The ſnow that is here preſerved in cliffs and caverns, trodden down and covered over with aſhes, will probably not be ſufficient to laſt till the ſeaſon of new ſnow: although it uſually begins to ſnow on Mount Ætna as early as September: eſpecially as, in caſe the ſnow ſhould fall late in the ſeaſon, they have no

reſource

reſource but in theſe hoards. Each of the neighbouring towns has its particular magazine: the man who brings the ſnow to Catania was our guide.

The Cyclops, Polyphemus, invited his beloved but not loving nymph, Galatea, to the freſh water of the rivulets; which were formed of the ſnow of Ætna. After tempting her by deſcribing the riches of his ruſtic poſſeſſions, he adds—

Ἐντι ψυχρον ὑδωρ, το μοι ἀ πολυδενδρεος Ἀιτνα
Λευκας ἐκ χιονος, ποτον ἀμβροσιον προϊητι.
Τις κεν των δε θαλασσαν ἐχειν ἡ κυμαθ' ελοιτο;

THEOC. Id. xi. v. 47.

From grove-crown'd Ætna, rob'd in pureſt ſnow,
Cool ſprings roll nectar to the ſwains below.
Say, who would quit ſuch peaceful ſcenes as theſe,
For bluſtering billows, and tempeſtuous ſeas?

FAWKES.

We now ſoon ſaw the *Monte Roſſo:* a very large hill of Mount Ætna; and indeed the higheſt, except the ſummit of Ætna itſelf. Some travellers have confounded this *Monte Roſſo*, which is three Italian miles from the ſummit of Ætna, with the two *Monti Groſſi;* which are at the diſtance of eighteen miles from its ſummit.

I quote the following paſſage concerning it from a pamphlet publiſhed by Don Giuſeppe Gioeni: the title of which is, *Relazione della Eruzione dell' Etna, nel meſe di luglio*, M,DCC,LXXXVII. *ſcritta.* D. C. G. G. *(dal Cavaliere G. Gioeni. Catania*, 1787*).

" This mountain was formed by a remark-
" able eruption of the year 1751; and, from
" the colour of its matter, it has been called
" the red. It riſes over another more an-
" cient mountain, to which it forms a back.
" Its fire is not yet extinguiſhed, for it fre-
" quently emits ſmoke from various cavities;
" which is conſidered by the inhabitants of
" the mountain as a prognoſtic of bad wea-
" ther, or of new eruptions from Mount
" Ætna."

This *Monte Roſſo* twenty-five years ago made a fearful eruption. Deceived by the moonlight, we ſuppoſed it to be the lofty head of Ætna; the top of which was concealed by the clouds of night, and its own ſmoke.

We ſoon however recovered ſight of it;

* An account of the Eruption of Mount Ætna, in the month of July, 1787; written by the Cavaliere, Joſeph Gioeni. *Catania*, 1787.

and,

and, in the grey twilight, alighted from our mules at the foot of its ſummit: which cannot indeed ſo properly be called the ſummit as the higheſt of the mountains piled upon mountains. We expected that our guide would have conducted us to the uppermoſt height; but he led us to the eaſtern foot of the ſummit; at which we were at firſt diſſatisfied. We were ſoon however convinced that we could not have reached the top before ſun riſe; and that, had it been poſſible, we could not have endured to remain on the eaſtern ſummit: becauſe a weſt wind blew the ſmoke, and ſulphurous vapour, that roſe from the crater, toward the eaſt.

It was ſo cold, on the height where we ſtood, that the Reaumur thermometer fell a degree and a half below the freezing point. The eldeſt ſon of Landolina *, a youth of about twenty, who had come with us from Syracuſe, juſt as we alighted from our mules, was overcome by the cold: however, he ſoon in part recovered himſelf; though not entirely during ſome hours.

We now beheld, by day light, fields of de-

* Landolina the father is a knight of Malta: but one of the *Cavaliere di divozione*, who are allowed to marry.

ſolation

ſolation around us, wildly hurled, and intermingled with droſs, black aſhes, ſnow, and vaſt maſſes of lava; which had been vomited, at different times, from the mouth of Ætna: on the left, the ſmoking crater roſe. Before us lay, in the diſtant deep, the Toro and other hills; and a continued bellying bed of clouds, the darkening extremities of which the eye could not clearly diſtinguiſh, either from the mountains or the ſea, till the majeſtic ſun roſe, in fire, and reduced every object to order. It was a new "dividing of the light from the "darkneſs; and of the dry land from the "gathering together of the waters *." Chaos ſeemed to unfold itſelf, where no four-footed beaſt, no bird, interrupted the ſolemn ſilence of the formleſs void.

Wo ſie keinen Todten begruben, und keiner erſtehn wird †: MESS. *cant.* i.

as Klopſtock ſays, of the ice-encircled pole.

Ætna caſt his black ſhades over the grey dawn of the weſtern atmoſphere; while round him ſtood his ſons, but far beneath: yet volcanic mountains all: in number ſix-and-

* Geneſis, chap. i. ver. 4 and 10.

† No dead are buried there; nor any there will riſe.

thirty,

thirty, each a Veſuvius. To the north, the eaſt, and the ſouth, Sicily lay at our feet; with its hills, and rivers, and lakes, and cities. In the low deep, the clouds, tinged with purple, were diſperſed and baniſhed from the preſence of the golden ſun: while their ſhades, flying before the weſt wind, were ſcattered over the landſcape far and wide.

After pauſing, aſtoniſhed and enraptured by the ſublime ſpectacle, we began our aſcent to the ſummit of the mountain. To attain this, we had to croſs a large tract of aſhes, and lumps of droſs: where extreme caution was required, to prevent falling over the rugged *ſcoria*. Nor could caution itſelf afford any certainty that an arm, or a leg, might not be broken: ſo continually did the hollow cinders turn under the foot, and fall upon it at every ſtep.

Theſe obſtacles being overcome, we ſtill had to aſcend the ſummit; which is very ſteep, and in many places ſo ſlippery that you can with difficulty get foot-hold: though the deſcent is not ſo very ſudden as frequently to make a fall dangerous. We found ſulphurous vapours occaſionally riſing ſo powerfully, through

through apertures, that we were obliged ſuddenly to turn from them.

Being frequently under the neceſſity of reſting to take breath, we were about two hours before we arrived at the top: and yet, miſled by the deſcriptions of ſome travellers, we actually figured to ourſelves greater difficulties than we found.

And now we ſtood beſide the vaſt, circular, and to the eye impervious, throat of Ætna. The form it has aſſumed is that of a tunnel: except that the circle is not regular. Its contracting abyſs is ſoon loſt to the ſight. In various places, thin clouds of ſmoke aſcended out of ſmall cavities, as from ſo many chimneys: while the mouth itſelf tempeſtuouſly emitted its whirlwinds of black and white clouds, in a ſpiral column. To go round the crater, or to remain a moment facing the wind, were things impoſſible. Even with the wind on your back, by which you are ſecured againſt the ſmoke of the grand crater, you are pained and ſuffocated by whiffs of ſulphurous vapours; which aſcend from the backs of the ſummit.

As in Solfatara, near Pozzuoli, ſo here likewiſe,

wiſe, on the top of Ætna and round the rim of the crater, ſmall lumps of pure ſulphur are found: which they alſo are round the ſmall cavities.

The circumference of the mouth, or crater, is eſtimated at from three to four thouſand paces. Within, as far as the eye can diſcover, it is coated with ſulphur.

On the north, ſeparated from the ancient crater by a thin wall, or cruſt of ſulphur, there is a new mouth; which was opened by a falling in of the ſummit, in the month of May, in the preſent year. This likewiſe is round, tunnel formed, and impervious to the eye. Standing on its rim, we ſaw the whole weſt part of the iſland (which, for ſome hours, had been concealed from us by the mountain) to its extremeſt point; as far as the high *Monte di Trapani*, or *Eryx*, and the ſea beyond. Our guide endeavoured to point out the Lipari iſlands, on the right: but, being leſs acquainted with the country than he was, I could not diſtinguiſh them from the blue clouds of the horizon.

We threw ſtones into this crater; which rolled like diſtant thunder, till they at laſt fell, with a loud din, into the water below. After throwing

throwing the ſtone, I counted eight-and-forty pulſations before I heard the daſhing of the water. This experiment ſeems to me to ſtrengthen the opinion of thoſe who believe that the mouths of the volcano are open to, and communicate with, the ſea.

On a ſudden, we heard the gulph begin to roar, with a ſound like that of boiling waters, in this prodigious cauldron; and our guide adviſed us immediately to depart.

When this mouth firſt opened itſelf, about eight weeks ago, it continued for ſeventeen days to pour out lava; and it ceaſed when the lava began to iſſue, which now continues to flow from a mountain adjoining to the Monte Roſſo.

We found it leſs difficult to go down than to aſcend the mountain; though this was ſufficiently inconvenient, beſide that we were again obliged to paſs over a long bed of ſlack and cinders.

I was aſtoniſhed to find every where over the ſummit, round the crater of Ætna, among the droſs, and even on the ſnow and ice, the beautiful little red *ſcarabæus* * with black ſpots; which is ſo commonly found in Ger-

* *Kæfer:* the lady-bird, as I ſuppoſe. T.

many

many among the graſs, the foliage, or the corn: where it is accuſtomed to feed: while here, in this deſert, as far as the eye can reach, the vegetation of moſs itſelf ceaſes; and yet I never any where ſaw theſe inſects more full of life, or ſo numerous. We found them moſt frequently covering the lumps of ſulphur; on the vapour of which no doubt they feed, while the warmth of the ſulphur increaſes their numbers and their vivacity.

Before we remounted our mules, we went upon a hill of aſhes; on which, a few years ago, there were great remains ſtanding of the building which was called *La Torre del Filoſofo:* or the tower of the philoſopher. It has been affirmed that Empedocles reſided here, to obſerve the phenomena of the mountain; and nothing can be more probable than that this great Sicilian naturaliſt particularly dedicated himſelf to the obſervation of Ætna: but the tale concerning the building is as fabulous as that which you know is related by Horace—

——Deus immortalis haberi
Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Ætnam
Inſiluit.

Hor. *Ars Poet.* 464.

Then

Then will I tell Empedocles's ſtory;
Who, nobly fond of more than mortal glory,
Fond to be deem'd a God, in madding fit
Plung'd in cold blood in Ætna's fiery pit.
FRANCIS.

Horace found it difficult to believe this tradition. He only uſes it as a ſimile; and the old woman's tale, that Ætna betrayed the philoſopher by caſting up his ſlipper of braſs, is not mentioned by the poet.

Formerly, a temple, dedicated to Vulcan, ſtood on Mount Ætna; and Cluverius ſuppoſed this *Torre del Filoſofo* to be the ruins of that temple: but the temple muſt have been built in a lower region, for there was a grove near it; and in it the ſacred fire was contained, and dogs were kept. The philoſopher's tower muſt every winter have been half buried in ſnow: a place where neither man nor dog could houſe, and near which no tree could grow. At preſent, very few traces of the building are remaining; and the little that is to be ſeen appears to denote it was of later ages. The Greeks would have built of hewn ſtone, or lava, and have conſtructed their building without mortar.

We rode the way that we came, back to

San

San Nicolao della Rena; where we arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon, wearied and overheated, but heartily glad of having accomplished our enterprise.

An hour after midnight, we once more proceeded to view the ſtreaming lava by night; and rode for ſome leagues beſide that which, in the year 1682, was thrown out of the volcano called *Salto del Cane;* or hound's leap.

Our narrow way led us through many windings; ſo that we now ſaw before us, now behind us, and again at our ſide, the glowing river: and, whenever it eſcaped our view, we ſtill could trace its courſe, by the red fiery vapour that it emitted. Before our arrival, we ſaw on our left the lava of *Monte Roſſo*, which was thrown out in the year 1767; and rode, while approaching the fiery ſtream, between black maſſes of former eruptions.

The preſent lava is caſt from the heights of *Soliſicio*, a ſide hill of *Monte Roſſo*, like a waterfall; till it arrives near the place where we ſtood in a kind of bottom, but is there preſſed forward by ſucceeding ſtreams, and again continues its courſe to the diſtance of fourteen Italian miles: or full two German miles.

Little of the proper lava is ſeen, that conſiſts of the liqueſied earths and rock: for it is covered with the glowing droſs. The ſtream is "a worthy pioneer," as Hamlet ſays of the ghoſt of his father, and has dug itſelf a deep bed between the ſhores of its fiery ſlack and cinders. In the place where it falls from above, it collects the black parts in the middle; and forms, with its correſponding black lines in a lateral direction, ſomething like the figure of a fiſh: the body of which is of a fiery red, and the outline of the back black.

As the droſs of the ſtream was drawn to the two ſides, when it touched the black droſs of the banks it adhered; and the relieved lava flowed the quicker; and, as the banks were ſomewhat hollowed under, we could there ſee the clear flame-coloured ſtream. The running, or to ſpeak more properly the driven, maſs is hard; ſo that, if a ſtone be thrown upon it, a ſound is heard of a dull or dead kind, as if thrown on iron droſs; and the ſtone is carried along the ſtream. Every inflammable ſubſtance kindles in an inſtant; and the light communicates a dark purple colour, to the inſide of the droſs of the ſhore. The aſcending ſmoke gradually becomes clear;

clear; till at laſt it has a morning red appearance. At day-break, bubbles ſwam and played in the ſmoke; and reflected the objects of ſea and land. We approached very near to the bank of the ſtream, climbed the wall of droſs, and looked into the fiery river; but could not remain there a moment.

The whole aſpect and courſe of this conflagration, deſcending from above and collecting in the deep below, then dividing into meandering ſtreams and forming iſlands, was inexpreſſibly ſublime. Even when the dawn appeared, nay after the ſun had riſen, though leſs fiery, when near, it continued to be of a glowing red colour. At a diſtance, by day, its appearance is black.

We followed for a little way its downward courſe; and ſaw below vineyards, and gardens, ſurrounded by its ſcorching arms: then ſuddenly, with loud cracks, we heard the high droſſy ſhores, at different places, fall into the ſtream. We could likewiſe diſcover, through apertures, the red lava ſhining, and in ſome places preſſing forward on the ſide on which we ſtood; and perceived how very poſſible it was for the wall of droſs which we climbed to have fallen in.

In the places where the ſtream broke down theſe walls, it loſt much of its flaming red appearance, and of its motion. One of theſe that we looked at, of a condenſed kind, was tardy in becoming liqueſied; as if unwilling to move: but was at laſt ſlowly obliged to yield, and be dragged along.

This lava flows to the north eaſt into the ſea; and already has deſtroyed many fruitful fields and gardens. Uncertain what courſe it will take, the afflicted people ſtand watching its ſmoke by day, and its flames by night.

Quitting theſe fiery abodes, we came at firſt to the deſerts of ravaged nature; till by degrees ſhe again began to ſmile. The declivity of the mountain was covered with cheſnut foreſts. Remember, when I ſpeak of the cheſnut tree in Italy and Sicily, I mean the beautiful and noble cheſnut, the fruit of which we eat; but which in Germany is ſo ſcarce, and is only produced on ſmall trees. Our common horſe cheſnut, which, if I do not miſtake, was brought to us from Aſia, through Italy, in the fifteenth century, is very rare in theſe countries; and is only here and there to be found in gardens.

We now ſoon ſaw vineyards and orchards,

on hill and dale ; while the widening proſpect over the ſea preſented to our view the blooming fields by its ſide, the outſtretching mountain of Toro, and the high ſhores of Calabria. We beheld the moſt ſouthern Italian promontory of Spartivento: hated and defamed by ſeamen. After the fearful ſublimity of volcanic regions, how laughing did theſe lands of paradiſe appear! the charms of which were rather heightened than diſturbed by the contraſt of the black lava, that ſtreamed forth in the year 1682.

Near Ferreri where we halted at noon, we ſaw in a vineyard fifteen tall, ſtraight, young cheſnut trees; all of which ſprung from the root of a tree that was cut down, and forming the moſt beautiful foliage I ever beheld. The trunk of each was thicker than the body of a middle-ſized man.

In the afternoon, we rode through cheſnut foreſts that grow on the north ſide of Ætna. This tree flouriſhes beſt in the neighbourhood of volcanoes; near Veſuvius, Solfatara, and Epomeo, in Iſchia; but no where ſo highly as on Mount Ætna, the chief of the volcanoes. We viewed on all ſides the verdant fullneſs of ſwelling vegetation, in the

beautiful fields which are every where found, from the declivity of the mountain to the plains of the fertile ſea coaſt; which is ſhaded with fruit trees of various kinds.

The trees of the cheſnut foreſts of Ætna conſiſt in part of the ſlender ſcions from old roots, ſuch as I have deſcribed above, and partly of trunks that are unequalled perhaps in the whole world; and certainly in Europe *. We met with ſome which were thicker than the prodigious oak trees near Bomte, in the biſhoprick of Oſnabürg; and yet how diminutive were theſe to the tree *dei cento cavalli;* or, the hundred horſemen: as it is called, by the Sicilians.

This tree, which for centuries has been hollow, conſiſts at preſent of five prodigious trees: ſeveral of the inward ſides of which

* Even the famous African tree, which is called *Barbab*, and deſcribed by Proſper Alpinus, Cluſius, and ſince them by Adanſon, a French Botaniſt, after whom it has likewiſe been named *Adanſonia*, does not in circumference equal the ſize of theſe giants of Ætna. Adanſon found trees the diameters of which were nearly five-and-twenty feet: but the largeſt cheſnut tree of Ætna has more than twice that thickneſs. See *Linne's Pflanzenſyſtem, nach der 13ten auſgabe überſetzt. Nürnberg, 2ter Theil* 1777, *ſ.* 151. 160.

are

are ſmooth, though time has covered them with a kind of bark; and which we indubitably ſee all actually belong to one great trunk, through which wide cavities have been made by the decay which time produces. They ſtand in a circle, and form a vaſt connected bower; denoting the natural rounding of the tree, which has only been perforated by a ſucceſſion of centuries.

Swinburne, a traveller of underſtanding and veracity, ſays: "When I firſt ſaw this tree, I "concluded myſelf impoſed upon, by the de- "ſcriptions of preceding travellers; and was "convinced that the original tree had been cut "down, and the preſent group formed by new "ſhoots ſprung out of the old root; but, up- "on a cloſer examination, I changed my opi- "nion. This wonderful production of the "vegetable kingdom, conſiſts of a trunk, now "ſplit to the ſurface of the earth, but, as I "found by digging all round, united in one "body at a very ſmall depth below *."

We meaſured the circumference of this tree; and found it to be twenty-five *canne* and ſix *palmi*, or one hundred and ſixty-two

* Travels in the Two Sicilies by Henry Swinburne. Vol. iv. p. 157. Octavo 1790.

French feet: *pied de Roi:* which is ſomething larger than the Rheniſh foot. A *canna* contains eight *palms:* the *palm* a *ſpan*, including the firſt joint of the thumb.

We and our whole eſcort, mules and all, found more than ſufficient room within this tree: nor were we incommoded by the remains of a ſtone houſe and an oven, which had been built there; and you will eaſily perceive, from its circumference, that the name, *dei cento cavalli*, is no exaggeration. Huge branches ſpread from its principal trunks on all ſides; and the vigorous vegetation of its green old age increaſes the admiration which its aſpect excites: eſpecially having ſuffered as it has done from the ravages of time, in deſpite of which its venerable ruins rather reſemble a grove than a tree. View it on which ſide you will, its appearance is as beautiful as it is unique.

Another tree, which from the form of its branches is called *La nave*, or the ſhip, has likewiſe ſuffered much from the hundreds, or from the tens of hundreds, of years that it has exiſted. Like the firſt, it is hollow, and only half ſtanding; yet its boughs ſtretch out to a great diſtance. Its circumference is now

eight

eight *canne*, and a palm : or forty-nine French feet.

In this foreſt, on the 7th of July, we heard the nightingale ſing. In the evening, we rode through countries as beautiful as thoſe we had paſſed on our deſcent ; till we came to the ſmall town of *Giarre*, which ſtands on the ſea ſhore.

The inhabitants of this place were in great terror, when the lava, in the month of May laſt, which was thrown from the crater, appeared to threaten them. During the firſt three days, the earth heaved at every rumbling of the mountain ; and the window ſhutters of thoſe houſes that had any were ſprung.

We ſaw from our inn a ſolemn proceſſion, with torches, which was made to the declivity of the mountain to entreat that the ſtream of lava might not injure them in its courſe. Were it not a common cuſtom to bear torches in nightly proceſſions, I ſhould have believed this to be the remains of a Pagan ceremony. The fable of the ancients was that the torch of Ceres ſet Mount Ætna on fire ; when ſhe ſearched the world for her daughter Proſerpine, who had been carried away by Pluto.

A race

A race by torch light was inſtituted, in commemoration of this ſearch. Agathocles alluded to this cuſtom, when he adviſed the army to change the ſhips to torches, after he had vowed to ſacrifice them to Ceres and Proſerpine*: λαμπαδευειν απασας τας ναυς. What could be more probable than that the Sicilians ſhould make ſolemn proceſſions to Ceres: eſpecially at times when their harveſts were menaced by the fiery ſtreams of Ætna?

LETTER XCV.

Meſſina, 10th July 1792.

EARLY on the day before yeſterday, ſoon after we had left Giarre, a noble proſpect opened upon us. To the left, we ſaw Mount Ætna; which, if it be permitted to compare the ſublimeſt objects of nature to the inſignificant efforts of human art, when ſeen on this ſide, reſembles a Greek theatre. It riſes in

* Diod. lib. v. vol. i. p. 333, compared with lib. xx. vol. ii. p. 410 and the remarks of Weſſeling.

woody

woody gradations over the fertile plains: and extends itſelf in a chain of mountains as far as *Monte Toro:* the craggy ſummits of which project from the ſouth weſt to the north weſt, and it ends in placing its rocky foot in the ſea. To the right the ſea is ſeen, and the ſouthern coaſt of Calabria; which, from its diſtance, appears to unite with the *Monte Toro.*

We twice rode through the *Fiume Freddo:* the *Aſines* of the ancients. Its modern name is very applicable, for its water is very cold; and is likewiſe limpid, and freſh. Notwithſtanding its cold quality, it may probably be healthful either for bathing or beverage; and therefore it might be called by the Greeks *Aſines;* ἄσινης; or harmleſs. We met with a grove of large mulberry trees between its two arms, and refreſhed ourſelves with the charming fruit.

I know not whether that kind of mulberry, which bears white fruit, can better endure the winter than the nobler ſpecies, that bears black, or more properly dark-red fruit; or whether the firſt be for that reaſon preferred in Germany, for the culture of ſilk. I met with many of both kinds in Sicily: but in Si-

cily they prefer the tree with the dark-red fruit, of which there is conſtantly ſo great a quantity of the beautiful berries that any perſon may pluck them who pleaſes. You are aware that, by plucking this fruit, the hands and mouth become ſtained. A Sicilian taught me an eaſy manner of freeing myſelf from theſe purple ſpots; by taking ſome unripe fleſh-coloured berries, preſſing out their juice, and rubbing it over the ſtains.

On the left bank of the river Aſines ſtood the town of Naxos, which muſt not be confounded with the iſland of Naxos, in the Archipelago. The people of Chalcis and Eubœa founded this colony, under their leader Theocles, a year before Syracuſe was inhabited by the Greeks, in the third year of the 11th Olympiad, or 732 years before Chriſt *. They erected an altar to Apollo, the Leader: Απολλωνι Αρχηγετη: becauſe the oracle of this God at Delphos had adviſed the emigration of the Greek colonies to Sicily. Naxos was the firſt of theſe colonies that followed the advice of the oracle; and Syracuſe the ſecond.

In the ſecond year of the 94th Olympiad, 401 years before the birth of Chriſt, and 330

* Thuc. lib. vi. p. 379.

from

from its foundation, Naxos, through the treachery of Procles, a native, was taken by the elder Dionyſius; who ſold the inhabitants, ſparing none but the relations of the traitor. Their property he gave up to the ſoldiers, deſtroyed both the houſes and the walls, and ceded the territory to the neighbouring Siculi *.

Seven-and-thirty years after this event, Andromachus, the father of the hiſtorian, Timæus, aſſembled the ſurviving fugitives of Naxos, and founded *Tauromenium*, on Mount Taurus, or *Toro;* and there formed a ſettlement. The word *Tauromenium* is derived from the name of the mountain, and from μενειν: to remain. The town is now called *Taormina.*

When Hiero the Second made a treaty of peace with the Romans, Tauromenium was the laſt town that acceded to the alliance.

The people of Tauromenium threw down a ſtatue, which they themſelves had erected to the rapacious Verres: but they ſuffered the pedeſtal to remain, to eternize his diſgrace.

When Auguſtus, deſirous of rewarding the legions that had aided him in ſubjecting the

* Diod. lib. xiv. vol. i. p. 651.

Roman

Roman world, had given them moſt of the lands of Italy, after having tranſplanted the ancient poſſeſſors, or without compenſation driven them away, he likewiſe ſent a colony to Tauromenium.

The Saracens were maſters of the greateſt part of Sicily before they ſucceeded in conquering this town; and the remembrance of their cruelties is preſerved to this day. Count Roger the Norman, by cutting off the proviſions of the enemy, re-conquered Taormina.

This town is built on a height of *Monte Toro*; ſo that the aſcent to it is difficult; and the little town of Mola lies on a ſtill more lofty ſummit. The lands below Taormina are fruitful, well watered, abounding in trees, and very pleaſant. I ſaw very large citron trees in a village below the town.

Some miles from the town, the river Cantara runs; called *Onobalus* by the Greeks, and *Tauromenius* by the Romans. Its bed ſhews that, in winter, it is a broad ſtream; but in ſummer it is nearly dry. There is a bottom however in which its waters collect themſelves, and always form a ſtream: which was ſufficiently rapid, when we rode through it,

to

to drive the horſes and mules rather ſideways. From this power it no doubt obtained its Greek name, *Onobalus*, the Aſs-thrower.

Not far from the place through which we forded, there is a bridge; which is called the Devil's bridge. The credulous country people relate that God told the Devil, if he would build a bridge there, the firſt that went over it ſhould belong to him; and the Devil immediately flew to perform the taſk. No ſooner was the bridge finiſhed than it was paſſed by a dog; and the raging Devil, ſtamping with his foot, puſhed out a ſtone, leaving an aperture which no ſtone that could be brought would fill up. At laſt however the bridge was bleſſed, and has ever ſince been in uſe. We did not think it worth while, in the heat of the day, to make a circuitous route to ſee this bridge.

Between the Cantara and Taormina are the ruins of an ancient tower, and an aqueduct. The tower is called *Caſtello Schiſone;* and ſome believe that this is the place where Naxos ſtood: but Cluverius with juſtice ſuppoſes that Naxos, according to the teſtimony of the ancients, was built on the banks of the *Aſines*. The lava of Ætna, eruptions from which

which muſt have happened in very early ages, forms the baſe of the tower and the aqueduct. This lava ſtretches out into the ſea; and I am inclined to believe that no other ſtream of lava has ſince run ſo far.

Near Taormina are the remains of water ciſterns of the ancient Tauromenium; and the arching of the largeſt of theſe ciſterns throws light on the ſo much doubted deſtination of the much greater reſervoir near Baiæ, which is known by the name *Piſcina mirabilis*. The arching of the ciſterns near Taormina is, like the arching of the *Piſcina mirabilis*, ſupported by pilaſters. The traces of the aqueducts, which ſupplied the ciſterns with water, are ſtill diſcoverable. Below the four other ciſterns of Taormina there has been one particularly large; which was uſed to fill a place with water, which place was plaiſtered and walled, and here the people enjoyed the ſpectacle of a ſea fight. By the ſide of this Naumachia *, the arcades are ſtill ſtanding in which ſtatues were placed. Above theſe were

* Naumachia, Ναυμαχια, ſignified a fight, or combat, by ſea; and, if I do not miſtake, the Romans were the firſt who gave the pools on which ſea fights were imitated this name.

the

the ſeats of the ſpectators: of which ſeats ſome remains are ſtill exiſting.

I conjecture that this was the work of the Romans; partly becauſe it is built of ſlate-ſtone, and partly becauſe thoſe people, in the times of the Emperors, who from ſtate policy flattered their wiſhes, had an abſurd and remarkable propenſity to luxury. I ſuſpect that the Greeks, whoſe perception of the true was much more refined, would never have thought of building a place like this by the ſea ſide; on which ſea fights were to be mimicked. It was a property of theſe people to profit by every advantage of ſituation; and, if I dare ſo to ſay, to ſeize on every gift of nature. Theſe qualities appertain to genius. The conquering of difficulties which never ought to be encountered, except when unavoidable, thoſe viſible efforts which are ever the death of the graces, and that love for the prodigious which is ſo much more eaſily attained than the ſublime, are the characteriſtic marks of a ſpirit of imitation; which was the more natural to the Romans becauſe they continually made it their endeavour to combine this ſpirit of imitation with their ancient character of victorious ſtrength.

As the preſent town does not contain above five thouſand inhabitants, it includes only a ſmall part of the ancient town, which was laid waſte by the Saracens. Above it are the great ruins of the theatre, in which there appear to be more and better connected parts than in the remains of perhaps any other ancient theatre. Some of the ſeats of the ſpectators were cut in the rock. Behind them are the walls, with niches for the reception of ſtatues; on which probably, as in the Roman theatres and amphitheatres, were the ſeats for the women; and farther back than theſe the ſeats for the common people were erected, on high arcades.

I am not ſufficiently acquainted with architecture to give you an adequate idea of the remains of thoſe parts which, becauſe of their preſervation, render this theatre particularly remarkable. The *podium*, that is, the front ſeat next the orcheſtra, where the chiefs uſed to ſit, is ſtill to be ſeen. The Senators and the Veſtals, in Rome, ſat on the *podium*. The orcheſtra, the *pulpitum*, the *proſcenium*, the ſtage, and the *poſtſcenium*, are ſtill very diſtinguiſhable.

I ſuppoſe this theatre to be a Roman work,

becauſe it is built of ſlate-ſtone. There is no doubt but that it was coated with marble, taken from the mountain on which it ſtands, and in which the ſeats were hewn. The marble quarries of Mount *Taurus* were famous among the ancients; and Hiero the Second embelliſhed his prodigious and magnificent galley with baths of Tauromenian marble *.

The ſcience of the architect is honourable to him; for even now, when ſo many parts of the theatre are deſtroyed, ſounds from the ſtage are audibly heard on the ſeats. The *Cicerone* who conducted us rehearſed a ſcene here, which we could perfectly hear on the uppermoſt ſeat. How frequently have our theatres, and our churches, the defect of not being built with acouſtic ſcience; and how often do the ſounds die away in corners, or become confuſed by being echoed! How much more difficult likewiſe was it to render ſounds in the prodigious theatres of theſe ages articulate, where the players from the ſtage muſt indubitably have been diſtinctly heard by many thouſand ſpectators in the open air!

The ſituation of this place gave me much greater pleaſure than the theatre itſelf; for

* Athenæus, lib. v.

here you have a proſpect toward the ſea, and toward Ætna; which you behold towering in all its ſovereignty. The building of the ſtage deprived moſt of the ſpectators of this view: but it was enjoyed by thoſe who ſat on the ſeats of the women, and by the upper gallery.

On the back of the ſeats, toward the north, the ſtraits of *Faro* and the two coaſts are ſeen. If you turn your face immediately to the ancient caſtle, built by the kings of Arragon, you have then on one ſide a proſpect of Italy, the eaſtern coaſt of Sicily, and the Sicilian ſea; and on the other the entire ſtraits of *Faro*, between their lordly ſhores, the *Capo Spartivento*, and the mouth of the Adriatic.

I have ſeen proſpects more extenſive than theſe, but none more beautiful. While one ſea retires from the eye, another preſſes forward; between Calabria and Sicily, the two moſt delightful countries of Europe! And where is the mountain that can be compared to Ætna?

We took up our abode in the Capuchin monaſtery; where the good Monks gave us a friendly reception. They poſſeſs a large garden; in which, with other fruits, *agrumi* grow of various kinds and of great beauty. I here ſaw a ſpecies of citron which is produced

duced twice a year on the ſame trees: the firſt time in April and May, the ſecond in Auguſt and September.

Yeſterday, on the 9th, we continued our road along the ſea coaſt, in cool yet clear weather; and heard the nightingale, in the groves of a well-watered place, near Taormina.

In the morning, we rode over ſome ſteep heights. There is a rock that riſes near *Capo di San Aleſſio*, which advances into the ſea, to which it ſtands almoſt perpendicular, with an ancient caſtle on its ſummit. On the left we almoſt continually ſaw either rocks or mountains which had a charming effect; though ſtill not ſo pleaſant as the north coaſt of the *Val Demone*, between Meſſina and Cefalu, the hills of which are clothed with woods, corn fields, fruit trees, and vines. To the right, we ſaw the lower part of Calabria, and the eaſtern coaſt of Sicily; from the country of Meſſina to Syracuſe.

Between Taormina and Meſſina, not far from the baths on the ſea coaſt, which are the reſort of the diſeaſed, there are gold and ſilver mines that belong to the *Principe di Ceſaro*. Like the royal mines, they are not worked;

and there are people who blame this apparent neglect, but in my opinion they are wrong. In a country where the wheat is twenty, thirty, and forty, fold productive, a country perhaps ſuperior to all others in the various gifts of nature, ſome of which it ſpontaneouſly preſents and the reſt are obtained with little trouble, in ſuch a country, men ought not to dig in the bowels of mountains for ſilver or for gold. They ought rather, by the induſtry of agriculture and the application of commerce, to draw ſilver and gold from other countries. Well tilled, well regulated, well governed, Sicily and Naples would become the heart of Europe; through the grand arteries and petty veins of which the precious metals of foreign lands would freely circulate.

About a ſhort German mile from Meſſina, a row of houſes begins, and runs in a right line; interrupted by ſpacious and pleaſant gardens, which appear like the ſuburbs of Meſſina: in the juriſdiction of which they are. This row, or ſtreet, is called *Il Dromo:* no doubt from the Greek word, δρομος: a courſe, or race courſe: and probably in the times of Greece there was a *ſtadium* here, for racing.

We

We arrived at Meſſina by day light; and thus concluded our journey through Sicily, made in a ſeaſon of the year during which our countrymen are inclined to believe this iſland is inſupportable. We frequently laugh at the ideas that are formed by the people of the South of the cold of northern countries; but the ideas which we Germans have of the heat of theſe ſouthern regions is not leſs extravagant. I readily grant the heat in the Two Sicilies is much greater than it is in Germany; and, on certain days, when in Palermo the *Sirocco* blows, and the *Ponente* or weſt wind predominates in Syracuſe and in Catania, it can ſcarcely be endured. An inflamed ſtate of the air, like that which prevailed on the 26th of June in Syracuſe, is dreadful to foreigners: but ſuch occurrences are rare. The whole city ſpoke of the heat as ſingular. We muſt no more determine by the thermometer, on the average ſummer heat of theſe countries, than we muſt on the average winter cold of Ruſſia. In the December of 1785, I walked with great pleaſure in the country near Peterſburg, and was not froſt-bitten; although Reaumur's thermometer ſtood at twenty degrees below the freezing point. I experienced

the benefits of a pure air, a clear ſun-ſhine, and a profound calm. During the extraordinary cold winter of 1788, when the thermometer ſunk as much below the freezing point in Germany, we all found the cold to be inſupportable. And no leſs inſupportable is the heat of Germany, when Reaumur's thermometer riſes from 22 to 28° above the freezing point: yet we rode with pleaſure, through Sicily, when the air was of this temperature.

Under the pure atmoſphere of this country no one complains of that ſuffocating ſtate of the air, by which we are frequently viſited in ſummer. At nine o'clock in the forenoon the heat in Sicily has generally attained its higheſt degree; and cooling ſea breezes then riſe, which freſhen the air, while the heat is qualified by theſe and by the mountain gales, the rivers, and the numberleſs ſprings which the country affords.

The province of *Val Demone*, which appears to me to be an earthly paradiſe, is chiefly cooled by the woody mountains, and by Ætna; and its northern coaſt, from Meſſina to Cefalu, would be ſtill far more beautiful than its eaſtern, from Meſſina to Catania, did not the deciſive

deciſive Ætna make the balance preond e-
rate: Ætna, the ſummit and the volcanoes of which and of its colleagues are armed in all the terrors of Nature; while its lower regions are embelliſhed with all her delights, all her beauties, and all her abundance! Theſe regions enjoy a balmy atmoſphere, under the prolific beams of which every fruit mellows, and no diminutive herbage ſprings. And how nutritive are the fruits of Ætna! How ſanative is the aromatic odour of this herbage! Well acquainted with the virtues of numerous herbs and roots, with which theſe favoured countries are ſo eminently enriched, the healthy and friendly inhabitants of Ætna have little need of phyſicians.

But indeed how abundant are Italy and Sicily, every where, in their manifold fruits! True it is that, from ignorance and neglect, the cherry, although its tree in theſe countries is very large, the plum, the apricot, and the peach, do not here attain that degree of perfection which our gardeners have the art to communicate. But is not this perfection, accompanied as it is by our ſcarcity, more than replaced by the abundance which is common to theſe countries? Aye, much more: if we have

have the juſtice and the benevolence to recollect that the gratification of the few ought not to be bartered for, or compared with, the enjoyment of the many.

Beſide, who will dare to bring our figs in competition with the numerous kinds of this pulpous and ſweet fruit; which here, and in the ſouth of Italy, twice a-year preſent themſelves on the high-ſtemmed and wide-ſpreading branches of theſe trees?

Melons and water melons are as plentiful as our cucumbers.

The eatable berries of the Service tree, *ſorbus eſculenta*, which reſemble little apples, except that they have rather flat kernels and hang on twigs like bunches of grapes, grow on large trees; and are only diſtinguiſhable from our bird ſervice tree, or *ſorbus aucuparia*, by their fruit.

The fine acid taſte of the azerole *, the fruit of which is white and red and reſembles that of the *arbutus*, except that it grows upon high ſlender ſtems and is pendent from a ſmall ſtalk like a cherry, is as much unknown to us as our gooſeberry, currant, and raſpberry, are to the Italians and Sicilians.

* Cratægus oxyacantha.

I do

I do not know whether the myrtle berry be common to the woods of theſe countries. The abundance which they have of mulberries ſupplies the want of any other fruit. If they have not as many apples and pears as we have, they may tell us that, did not the countries of the South ſend us their lemons and ſweet and Seville oranges, we ſhould be wholly without them. Gathered before they are ripe, nay while they are green, and packed up in cheſts, they neither attain that ſize, juice, nor flavour, which are common to them here; where they are plucked from the tree in every ſeaſon of the year. And how few of the numerous tribes of theſe *agrumi* are we acquainted with! The art of our gardeners is ſucceſsful in producing the pomegranate flower: but here this beautiful tree attains a vigorous growth, and its red bloom flouriſhes in ſpring and ſummer, and here and there refreſhes the eye, amid the verdant poliſh of the foliage, while the ripening fruit weighs down the productive branch.

The grapes begin to ripen at Syracuſe as early as the middle of July; ſwelling with their nectareous juices. Who has not heard of the Sicilian wines; noble though neglected

as they are? Few are the wines that can be compared with the glowing and high flavoured *Caſtelvetrano*, with the odorous *Amarenaforte*, or with its neighbours the white and red muſcadel of Syracuſe. Both theſe kinds of muſcadel are known, not only in Germany but in Calabria and Sicily, by the name of Calabrian wines; becauſe, before the time of Gelo, Pollis, from Argos, a ruler of Syracuſe, introduced the vine from Italy; which had more early been brought from Thrace*.

The vintage of the muſcadel uſually be-

* The Cavaliere Landolina, to whom I am indebted for ſo many intereſting hints, pointed out the following paſſage in Athenæus to me: Ἱππιας ὁ Ῥηγινος την ἑιλεον καλεμενην αμπελον Βιβλιαν φησι καλειθαι ὑν Πολλιν τον Αργειον, ὁς εβασιλευσε Συρακεσιων, πρωτον εἰς Συρακεσας κομισαι ἐξ Ιταλιας. Ειη ἀν ἀν ὁ παρα Σικελιωταις γλυκυς καλεμενος Πολλιος, ὁ Βιβλινος ἐινος. "Hippias of Rhegium ſays that the winding vine, "which Pollis of Argos, who governed Syracuſe, firſt "brought from Italy to that city, was called the *Biblinian*. "The ſweet wine which the Sicilians called Polian, was "alſo *Biblinian*."

The muſcadel was what the ancients called *Biblinian*, after that part of Thrace, named *Biblia*, which produced excellent wine. Heſiod likewiſe mentions this Biblinian wine. Pollis muſt have come from Argos before the time of Gelo; for, had he ruled Syracuſe in later times, he could not have been ſo unknown to hiſtory.

gins as early as the 24th of Auguſt; in a fortnight after which other grapes are ripe for the preſs, and in another fortnight a new ſucceſſion.

Landolina has likewiſe ſhewn me that the treatment of the vintage, in the countries near Syracuſe, is agreeable to the rules that were known as early as Heſiod. The poet ſays

Ευτ' ἀν δ' 'Ωριων και Σειριος ἐς μεσον ἐλθῃ
'Ουρανον, Ορπτερον δ' ἐσιδῃ ῥοδοδακτυλος 'Ηως,
Ω Περση, τοτε παντας ἀποδρεπε οἰκαδε βοτρυς.
Δειξαι δ' ἠελιῳ, δεκα τ' ἠματα και δεκα νυκτας*.
Πεντε δε συσκιασαι, ἐκ τῳ δ' ἐις ἀγγε ἀφυσσαι
Δωρα Διωνυσ πολυγηθεος.

HESIOD, Works and Day, b. ii.

Orion and the Dog, each other nigh,
Together mounted to the midmoſt ſky,
When in the roſy morn Arcturus ſhines,
Then pluck the cluſters from the parent vines.
Forget not next the ripen'd grapes to lay
Ten nights in air; nor take them in by day.

* I do not mean to juſtify the negligence of the expreſſion of Heſiod; but when he ſays the grapes are to be expoſed to the ſun † ten days and ten nights, he evidently means that they are to be ſo long expoſed to the open air.

† Cooke's tranſlation is not ſufficiently literal for the remarks of the Count. Heſiod ſays "Then gather thy grapes, oh Perſes, and bring "them home and expoſe them ten days and ten nights to the ſun." T.

Five

Five more remember, ere the wine is made,
To let them lie to mellow in the ſhade:
And, on the ſixth, briſkly yourſelf employ
To caſk the gift of Bacchus, fire of joy.

COOKE, l. 302.

The commentators have not underſtood Heſiod. Some have conjectured that Perſes muſt have poſſeſſed a little vineyard; becauſe he was to bring all the grapes home, and expoſe them firſt to the ſun and then lay them in the ſhade: but this was not the poet's meaning, which is explained by the preſent manner of the vintage in Syracuſe.

The grapes are there plucked when they are ripe: but the ripe grapes are inſufficient for the wine preſs, if the intention be to make muſcadel; for, in this caſe, the maker expoſes the grapes to the open air without obſerving any determinate number of days, but is regulated by the weather; by which means the ſun extracts the remaining watery parts. He then lays them in the wine preſs; where they remain without being cruſhed, for ſome days, becauſe they are ſuppoſed to be too dry to produce wine, after lying in the ſun, unleſs they are previouſly put into a ſtate of fermentation.

tion. This is what the poet calls lying to mellow in the ſhade.

Εις ἀγγε' ἀφυσσαι: to ſhed in the vat: means ſimply only what it can mean, the preſſing of the muſt, and letting it run into the receiving veſſel. Why ſhould the poet detail a circumſtance ſo generally known? He does not treat the ſubject in a didactic manner: he only means to teach Perſes a particular method of making a kind of generous wine. It is a ſingular miſconception, of thoſe who wiſh to find the cruſhing of the grape deſcribed in theſe verſes, when they underſtand the word ἀγγεα to ſignify the wine-preſs. The word ἀγγος generally denotes a veſſel capable of containing fluids, and not a preſs; and the word ἀφυσσειν, to pour, to ſhed, cannot be underſtood of the grape, but of the wine. The Italians and Sicilians call the action of letting the muſt run from the preſs into the receiver *ſvinare* *.

In

* The produce of the fields and vineyards of Sicily is eſtimated by *ſalme*. A *ſalma* of ſeed wheat in ſowing will cover a ſpace of 6666 ſquare *canne*. One *canna* contains 8 palms; and one palm a ſpan. A thouſand vine plants, near Syracuſe, yield from 4 to 7 *ſalme*. The *ſalma* contains 80 flaſks. The price of the white muſcadel of Syracuſe

In Germany, we call our vineyards vine hills. The Sicilian husbandman likewise plants on the hill, but he prefers the plain. The German seeks sunny heights; the Sicilian plants the shady mulberry and fig tree, to guard the vine: but neither he nor the Calabrian props the plants; neither do the people of Puglia: in which country, as I have already remarked, the vine is frequently not taller than the potatoe stalk, or than flax grows, with us. In Sicily and Calabria, the vine scarcely attains the height of man. This plant is no where so flattering to the eye as on the shores of the bay of Naples; where it throws its tall arms around, and spreads from tree to tree.

Wheat excepted, wine constitutes the principal branch of the trade of Sicily.

Syracuse is from 4 to 5 *oncie* the *salma*; and the *oncia* is worth three rix dollars and nine good *groschen:* reckoning five rix dollars to an ancient *Louis d'Or*, or a *Frederic d'Or*. The red muscadel of Syracuse sells for from five to seven *oncie* the salma. In the country between Terranovo and Lentini, the famous *Campi Geloi*, a thousand vine plants yield from 60 to 100 *salme* *.

* The disproportion between this produce and that just mentioned of Syracuse is so great as evidently to shew there is some mistake. I imagine that, after *Campi Geloi*, we should read *ten* thousand. The Frederic d'Or is a Prussian coin. T.

Lando-

Landolina has remarked that, at the end of November, about eight days after the fall of the vine leaf, the ſap again begins to riſe in the plant. He is therefore of opinion that it would be better to trim the vine plants at that time than, as is uſual, in January: becauſe, by the latter manner, much of the ſap is expended, which would remain in the vine as it riſes, and feed it, were it trimmed more early. He has not however been able to find any labourer who would introduce a cuſtom, which appears to the peaſants to be ſo abſurd. That he might himſelf afford an example, he ordered his gardener to make the experiment on a ſmall vineyard of his own. A few days afterward, he went to examine the ſtate of his vines; and found that not many of them had been trimmed. The excuſe of the gardener was that the neighbours had ridiculed him ſo much that he could not endure to continue at his work.

The people near Syracuſe have an inconceivably abſurd cuſtom: from which they can neither be weaned by its ſelf-evident folly, nor by the better example of the other provinces of Sicily.

They beat the olives, before they are perfectly

fectly ripe, with twigs from the trees. The branches are wounded; and the oil is preſſed, while young and acid, from the immature berry. This oil is excellent for the lamp: but it is wretched economy to make that into lamp oil which would be equally good for the table. The oil of the country of Girgenti, which was chiefly exported to Carthage, ſtill maintains its ancient renown. Sicily gains much by the culture of oil.

The chief branch of commerce of this diſtinguiſhed iſland is wheat. I am unable to ſpecify all the kinds, but the following are among the principal.

The *cicirello* would be preferred before every other ſpecies, becauſe of its fructiferous nature, had not its corn, and even the meal after it is ground, the defect of ſoon ſpoiling. Its produce is frequently ſixty fold.

Ventina and *trentina* are ſpecies that have theſe names, becauſe the produce of the firſt is twenty fold, and of the ſecond thirty.

Trimiſia is ſo called from a Greek word, τριμηνος: or three-monthly: becauſe this wheat is ſown at the end of April and frequently in three months, or as I have been told in forty days after ſeed time, is reaped.

It

It is an excellent kind of wheat. Triminia is reared in fields from which barley, being ſown in November, is cut while green for fodder in February *.

There is likewiſe a kind of wheat, that is highly eſteemed, which, from its black bearded ears, has acquired the name of *Barba nera*.

Our ſmooth kind of winter wheat is called *Majorca;* and was probably brought here from the Spaniſh iſland of that name.

Turkey corn, which in Germany is likewiſe called Turkey wheat, or maize, is cultivated in many places. In Sicily and Italy, this kind of corn is called *Grano d'India:* or Indian corn: and *Granone:* or great corn.

Rye is ſeldom ſeen here. In Sicily, as in the kingdom of Naples, it is called *Grano Germano:* or German corn.

* Triminia, from τριμηνιος. The Sicilians were not acknowledged even in ancient times to poſſeſs purity of language: ſome few great writers excepted. This example therefore is no better a proof than the modern Greek that the Greek letter η ſhould be pronounced as an *i:* for otherwiſe the Sicilians and Neapolitans would prove that the Italian *e* ſhould be pronounced like *i* †.

† The *i* has various ſounds in the German language: but the moſt common is that of the ſame letter, as pronounced by the Engliſh, in the words *limb*, *lick*, &c. T.

Few oats are grown in Sicily. After the cuſtom of the ancients, the horſes of both kingdoms are chiefly foddered with barley.

Diodorus tells us, on the authority of other authors, that Sicily was the firſt country that produced corn*. The lands round Leontium, and in many other parts, bore wild wheat.

Homer expreſsly ſays of Sicily:

Αλλα ταγ' ασπαρτα και ανηροτα παντα φυονται,
Πυροι, και κριθαι, ηδ' αμπελοι, αιτε φερυσιν
Οινον εριταφυλον, και σφιν Διος ομβρος αεξει.
Od. xi. 109.

Untaught to plant, to turn the glebe and ſow,
They all their products to free nature owe.
The ſoil untill'd the ready harveſt yields:
With wheat and barley wave the golden fields.
Spontaneous wines from weighty cluſters pour;
And Jove deſcends in each prolific ſhow'r.
Pope, 121.

A plant which grows wild, and ſo plentifully, in Sicily might well have given riſe to this tradition. The plant I mean bears a kind of ear, but is low of growth, and is a ſpecies of graſs. Among botaniſts, it is called the *ægilops ovata*.

I remember to have read, in *Buffon's Hiſtoire Naturelle*, that this writer was of opi-

* Diod. vol. i. lib. v. p. 331.

nion

nion that every kind of corn was originally ſome ſpecies of graſs; which had been improved by the induſtry of man. Were that the caſe, theſe plants, like the flowers that are improved by cultivation, would bear either no ſeed or very little: or, ſuppoſing them to continue fruitful, if they were once neglected by man, they would ſoon degenerate to their wild ſtate. Neither could their improvement by cultivation be effected, except in a favoured climate.

Of this we every where diſcover the reverſe. The ſeeds that fall on the following year produce a few ears; and theſe ſo ſeldom come to perfection that I do not ever remember to have ſeen, a ſecond year after the harveſt, ears ſprout ſpontaneouſly. They are not degenerated; they are extinct: although many tender plants, which demand the art of the gardener to prevent them from degenerating, will continue to blow many years, while they gradually decline.

The preſervation of the human race is intimately connected with the preſervation of the wheat plant; inſomuch that man is more indiſpenſable to wheat than wheat is to man, without whoſe care and culture it could not

exiſt. Without wheat, our exiſtence would be hazardous, but not impoſſible, though it greatly promotes our improvement. We may thank agriculture for our property, our municipal rights, the mildneſs of our manners, our ſciences, and our arts.

I can only conſider wheat as the immediate gift of God. Traditionary relations of this donation, may probably have given riſe to the Greek fable, that Ceres herſelf taught agriculture to men. The Holy Scriptures tell us that the firſt-born ſon of our common mother tilled the earth. Much was left for the powers of man to develop: but the divine endowment of ſpeech, with the leſs dignified but neceſſary gift of corn, was an immediate proviſion made by the Creator and Preſerver to the riſing race of man. Without the former, the concealed capabilities of man would have left him, in this life, no better than the beaſts of the field: and, without the latter, he would have remained a ſavage; a real and not a fabulous Cyclops. When the firſt man was ſentenced to eat his bread with the ſweat of his brow, the paternal Judge, who had ſo lately taught him to cover his nakedneſs, might probably give him corn be-

fore his flight from Eden. A plant of paradiſe, taken to a ruder ſoil, could not be ſupported without the aid of the men whom it was intended to ſupport.

The cattle paſture the whole year: among the mountains in ſummer, and on the plains in winter. They are all red, in Sicily, without exception. The oxen, like thoſe of Puglia and the oxen near Rome, which are originally of the ſame breed, have large horns. This breed is excellent, not ſo high boned nor ſo very large as the cattle of the *Terra di Lavoro,* but of a noble kind, ſtrong, and compact. Virgil would have been highly pleaſed with them, for they anſwer to his deſcription of excellent cattle.

The horſes of Sicily have at all times been famous. Sophocles ſomewhere ſpeaks of the horſe of Ætna. Pindar more than once praiſes the Sicilian horſe, and Virgil the horſe of Agrigentum. In the towns, I met with handſome and animated horſes: in the country, they are ſcarce; becauſe mules are preferable to ride among the mountains.

The mules of Sicily are ſtrong, and appear to me to be preferable to thoſe of Calabria: but the Calabrian horſe I conſider as ſuperior

to the Sicilian. However, there are good breeds, in the inland parts of the iſland. Coaches are met with in the towns; but I remember to have ſeen only a few carts, and thoſe on the north ſhore of the ſtraits of Faro. They have two wheels, and are drawn by oxen.

The ſheep and goats are of a good kind: though I have ſeen finer in different parts of Italy.

The hogs, in Sicily, are black; as in Italy.

I know not whether the ſtag, the deer, and the roebuck, are to be found in this iſland. The chamois inhabits Ætna: though I met with none.

In addition to the ſingular ideas, which the people of the North entertain of theſe countries, they likewiſe add the ſuppoſition of venomous and ſtinging reptiles. There are indeed ſnakes, of a prodigious ſize, occaſionally to be met with in the foreſts: but I believe they are not poiſonous. The common kind are here as little poiſonous as they are in Germany.

There is another ſpecies however that is dangerous: which is the aſpick, the bite of which is alſo dangerous with us, and its

poiſon is here more active. In the country round Syracuſe, the ſting of the ſcorpion is ſometimes fatal; if antidotes be neglected, or too long deferred. Hitherto I have ſeen no ſcorpion, except the ſcorpion of the firmament, which in our horizon is only viſible in part *.

I did not meet with more waſps, or ox-flies, than are met with in Germany: but I found ſome of an unknown ſpecies. The ſting of the gnat is much more venomous than with us.

The harmleſs lizard is very beautiful, in Italy; and ſtill more beautiful, and animated, in Sicily. It is larger than in Germany, is of a poliſhed green colour, and ſome have blue heads. In the two kingdoms, they run up

* Some months afterward, I found a ſcorpion in my chamber in the *Piano di Sorento*. Since that, I met with a very little ſpecies, of the ſize of a ſpider, in Iſchia. This ſmall kind is grey, and not poiſonous. It has much the ſame affinity to the true ſcorpion, which is black, as the ſmall ſea-crab has to the lobſter. Thoſe which are found at the mouth of the Weſer, and called *granate*, are much leſs than the lobſter, and grey; neither have they any claws †.

† The latter part of this note is obſcure: I have only been able to tranſlate the words; perhaps they will be intelligible to the naturaliſt. T.

the

the trees to the topmoſt branches; and remind me of a beautiful paſſage in Horace, where a coy maiden is compared to a young fawn, which, palpitating, ſeeks its dam, and trembles through all its limbs, if the green lizard glides up the wild mulberry tree.

Vitas hinnuleo me ſimilis, Chloë,
Quærenti pavidam montibus aviis
Matrem, non ſine vano
Aurarum et ſylvæ metu:
Nam, ſeu mobilibus vitis inhorruit
Ad ventum foliis, ſeu virides rubum
Dimovere lacertæ,
Et corde et genibus tremit.

HOR. lib. i. od. 23.

Chloe flies me like a fawn,
Which through ſome ſequeſter'd lawn
Panting ſeeks the mother-deer,
Not without a panic fear
Of the gently-breathing breeze
And the motion of the trees.
If the curling leaves but ſhake,
If a lizard ſtir the brake,
Frighted it begins to freeze,
Trembling both at heart and knees.

FRANCIS.

The birds, that enliven our woods in ſuch numbers, are but ſeldom ſeen in Sicily, and Italy:

Italy: for every peaſant has his gun, which frequently ſtands not far from him while he is ploughing his field.

Moſt of the farmers are tenants to the noblemen; who, according to an ancient cuſtom, furniſh the tenants, when they enter the premiſes, with ſeed-corn, labouring-oxen, implements of huſbandry, and other articles. At the concluſion of the agreement, the farmer returns them all. Theſe neceſſaries of the farm are called *la colonna*. The huſbandman, for one *ſalma* of ſeed-corn, is obliged to pay five in return. A *ſalma* contains ſixteen *tumuli*, the *tumulo* from twenty to twenty-two *rotoli*, and the *rotolo* two pounds and a half. Eight *ſalme* and four-fifths are equal to a *laſt* of Amſterdam; and the *laſt* of Amſterdam is about a thirteenth larger than the *laſt* of Hamburg.

The value of a *ſalma* of wheat is from three to five *oncie*. *Caraccuoli*, the late viceroy of Sicily, deprived the landlords of the right of impriſoning the huſbandman, if he did not return the ſtipulated *ſalme* of corn, or the *colonna*; and it is now aſſerted that the proprietors, having no ſecurity for the produce of their lands, frequently rather ſuffer them to lie

lie uncultivated than to let them, in the uncertain expectation of neither receiving their rent nor their property. But how eaſily would this evil be removed! How can the nobleman be inſecure, if the farmer have gathered in his harveſt? The impriſonment of the debtor, who is obliged to maintain himſelf and his family by labour, is a barbarous and abominable cuſtom. The farmers pay a ground rent for their houſes; which deſcend from father to ſon, and are held on condition of tilling the land: and, were they to hold the land that belongs to the houſe on the ſame conditions, the tenant, the landlord, and the whole iſland, would be infinite gainers: except that the rent to be paid, whether in money or in kind, ought at certain periods, if not every year, to be regulated according to the price of wheat.

Commerce here is very much ſhackled. In England, a premium is given for exportation. In Sicily, exported articles are heavily taxed. Not that I conſider this as the principal evil: for this regulation has, in ſome ſenſe, its advantages. The people do not ſuppoſe themſelves ſo much oppreſſed, while they imagine that foreigners alone pay the tax; and the farmer

mer does not recollect that, if such taxes did not exist, his corn would fetch a better price. It is necessary not only to avoid real oppression but the very feeling of the supposition of oppression. Man lives not on bread alone: nor is the weight of the burthen so effectually oppressive, as the temper if embittered in which it is borne. I grant that this tax properly falls on the inland vender: but it falls on him at that favourable moment when he is in the receipt of money for his corn.

The real evil appears to me to be this: the farmer is not allowed to sell his corn to the foreign merchant; the nobleman only possesses this right. Nor is the merchant certain that even the nobleman himself can exercise the right: because the exportation of corn is often suddenly prohibited. It is said that the underlings in office, by false pretences, have the art to open or shut the ports, for or against exportation, to the advantage of a few; who share the shameful gain, at the expence of the land-owner and the farmer.

The law pronounces the husbandman free from all vassalage: but the stewards, who likewise generally farm lands, sometimes require the husbandman to help them in their labour;

bour; and the husbandman of these countries is very loth to refuse the request of a steward. The nobleman has no power over the person of the husbandman, either to imprison him or to bestow bodily chastisement: yet he is so far a serf that he cannot quit the farm, at his pleasure.

The glass-wort is reared in such quantities that this country annually exports two hundred thousand *cantari* of pot-ash. A *cantaro* contains a hundred *rotoli:* or a hundred and sixty pounds weight of Amsterdam.

A respectable merchant of Messina, who is a foreigner, told me that the export trade of this country consisted of eighty-one principal articles: among which, and next in rank to those that I have named, are raw and wrought silks, oranges, and lemons, manna, and saffron.

Trade is not only shackled by the limitations of the laws but by the fear of corsairs; to free the sea of which the Government levies large sums. This end would be better attained if these governors would abandon the practice of building ships of the line, and content themselves with frigates, xebecks, brigantines, and galleys, to protect their trade against the African corsairs. Commerce ought

to

to flouriſh, and ſeamen by that means be formed, before any Government ſhould think of erecting itſelf into a maritime power. When I was firſt at Meſſina, I was informed that a corſair, from the coaſt of Barbary, ſailed through the ſtraits of Faro, in defiance of a royal galley that was lying at Reggio. The pirates were daring enough to capture two feluccas, between Palermo and Naples; and other of the Africans even followed a ſhip to the very haven of Trapani, and took a veſſel, loaded with wine, between Girgenti and Marſalla.

As the ſhips that take an African corſair are ſubjected to a rigorous quarantine, many of the captains ſuffer the corſairs to eſcape; and, to remedy this evil, the Government has given it in command, to all captains of the royal navy, to ſink every corſair; even though the pirates ſhould ſtrike their colours—A rule which riſes in dreadful contradiction to the very eſſence of the laws which are common and natural to all nations.

The Venetians have lately waged a ſeven years' war, againſt the pirates of Tunis; of whom they cleared the ſeas: yet ſcarcely had they, in the beginning of the preſent year, concluded

concluded a peace, before two-and-forty corſairs ſailed from the port of Tunis. Ships it is true were ſent againſt them from Naples: but they were neither ſufficient in number nor did they ſail at a proper ſeaſon.

The conduct of the Portugueze Government has been very different; to which, for ſome years, the Atlantic has been indebted for its ſecurity. A ſquadron, conſiſting of ſhips of the line and frigates, has cruized at the mouth of the ſtraits of Gibraltar; and thus has made the pillars of Hercules the boundary of the pirates of Africa.

One great cauſe of the paſſied ſtate of the country is, that people of the third claſs have ſo few rights and ſo little juſtice done them. Repreſentatives, it is true, are ſent to the Parliaments by the royal towns: but the rights of this claſs do not obtain ſufficient attention, becauſe moſt of theſe repreſentatives are choſen from the lower order of nobles. In many towns however the lower nobility concern themſelves in trade; and, having a common intereſt with the commercial citizens, defend their rights: by which this defect of the Conſtitution is a little counteracted.

When the nobles take any part in trade, the wall

wall of ſeparation between them and the third claſs is not ſo viſible as it is in Germany; where the gentlemen, to their own honor in my opinion, and to the benefit of their country, leave every kind of commerce to the lower ranks.

The nobility of Sicily conſiſts of four orders; the firſt of which are the *Baroni*, who originally were much the ſame as the Peers of Great Britain are at preſent, or as the Peers of France were in the middle ages. Theſe *Baroni* have equal rights, but unequal ranks; as their titles are Princes, Dukes, Margraves *, Counts, Viſcounts, and Barons. Their ſeat in Parliament is hereditary: like as in the Houſe of Lords in England.

Knighthood conſtitutes the ſecond order; and the Knights in part conſiſt of very ancient nobility. Among theſe muſt be included the perſons on whom the King can confer the hereditary title even of Prince, or Duke: but not hereditary rights. Theſe are the *nobleſſe titrée*, as they would be called, by the French; a rank which in Germany does not properly conſtitute any part of the high nobility, which

* *Markgrafen: Marcheſi*, or Marquiſes, I ſuppoſe are meant. T.

conſiſts only of the principal families of the States of the Empire.

A third order ariſes out of thoſe families which, according to an ancient right, aſſume to themſelves the rank of Knight; in continuation of ſuch houſes as become extinct.

The fourth order was in danger of nearly overrunning the country with a new race of Nobles. The holding of certain offices gives the rank of Noble to the ſucceſſors of the holder: the conſequence of this privilege became viſible, and the offices are generally beſtowed on the nobility.

The ancient and formerly democratic Syracuſe is the only place in which two of the citizens ſit as members, in the Council.

The chief vaſſals of the high nobility, to whom whole towns belong, feel their dependance, and often complain: they cannot however diſavow that the baronial towns are in a better condition than the royal. Any complaints againſt the powerful *Baroni*, who are regarded by Government with a jealous eye, gain a much more ready attention than if preferred againſt a royal *Governatore*.

The Parliament is aſſembled by the Viceroy, at no appointed time, in any one of the

royal towns. The laſt was held in Cefalu. It conſiſted of the ſpiritual arm: *Il braccio eccleſiaſtico:* Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors. The military arm: *Il braccio militare:* the Baroni of the kingdom: and laſtly of the Deputies of the Towns: *Il braccio demaniale.*

The rights of the Parliament are great: although through abuſe they are ſeldom exerciſed, becauſe the moſt powerful members in a variety of ways are made dependant on the Court. No extraordinary tax can be impoſed, without the conſent of Parliament.

The ſpiritual benefices are ſome of them very rich. Sicily has only two Archbiſhops, and ſeven Biſhops: whereas, in the kingdom of Naples, there are one-and-twenty Archbiſhops, and a hundred and ten Biſhops.

The *Canonici* have conſiderable revenues; and ſome of them afford excellent examples to their countrymen, by rationally employing themſelves in Agriculture. Others of them dedicate themſelves to the ſciences; and they are all generally ſpeaking very hoſpitable. The virtue of hoſpitality is likewiſe exerciſed by the ſpiritual orders of moſt of the monaſteries.

The travellers who maintain that the chief

deſtination of men ought to be the circulation of money, by active commerce, ſhould at leaſt, in return for the friendly manner with which they have been received by the monks, do them the juſtice to acknowledge that many laymen are maintained by the monaſteries.

To be equitable toward monks, we ought to judge them according to the principles of their church. Do that and, ſay what we will, we ſhall find that the life of any ſpiritual order is a ſevere life. He who ennobles himſelf by abſtinence, and ſubmiſſion to the will of God, and who, that he may ſecure an inviſible good, renounces the ſweeteſt joys of life, who humbles himſelf before God by the obſervation of rigorous rules and penances, and who yet preſerves his amenity to mankind, deſerves by them to be reſpected and honored. Such a man is ſuperior to the mockery of the vain; as he is to the diſcourteſy of thoſe travellers who, having been hoſpitably, kindly, and without diſtinction of ſect, entertained in his cloiſter, return home and, at the diſtance of ſome hundreds of miles, divert themſelves and their unfeeling ſarcaſtic readers at the expence of their hoſt; on whom they bluſh not to beſtow the contemptuous name of Prieſt; while they

they will probably ſpeak with literary veneration of the mutilated prieſts of Cybele, or of other Pagan deities of the ancients, and honour the word *prieſt* while they pronounce it.

Far be it from me to deny that many monks and eccleſiaſtics deſerve the contempt which is ſometimes annexed to the word *prieſt*. Every unworthy clergyman, be he Catholic or Proteſtant, who feeds upon the church, yet lives and ſpeaks in contradiction to her precepts, is a prieſt in the worſt ſenſe. But every eccleſiaſtic, who conforms to the faith of his church and lives in the performance of his duties, is a man whom we muſt honour; and our reſpect will be increaſed if, in obedience to God, he live in the exerciſe of true ſelf-denial, and paſs here a life of pain in hopes hereafter to obtain a life of glory.

Let each man judge for himſelf: but let no one conſider himſelf as a free-thinker, who models his judgment after the opinions of the trifling, ſhort-ſighted, and pretended-deep enquirers of the laſt hundred, or rather of the laſt ten, years.

A diſcreet traveller will be careful how he paſſes ſentence, at leaſt unfavourably, upon the character of the inhabitants of a country;

unleſs his reſidence among them has been a reſidence of years. Long and continued obſervation, particular opportunities, and various incidents, muſt all concur to enable a foreigner to ſpeak deciſively, and equitably, on the manner of thinking, and feeling, of any nation that he has viſited.

The Sicilians praiſe themſelves for their open liberal character: the Neapolitans accuſe them of a very oppoſite quality, and attribute all the praiſe of liberality to themſelves. For my own part, I found both nations friendly, prepoſſeſſing, and capable not only of politeneſs but of good intention: nay more, of confidence.

The Neapolitans to me appear to be the moſt ſanguine, and joyous: the Sicilians the moſt ſerious, and ardent. Both are irritable: but each in concord with their character. The Neapolitan is impetuous, and his anger ſudden: but a word unremarked ſinks deeply, and ſows the ſeed of reſentment, in the heart of the Sicilian.

Creſcit occulto velut arbor ævo.

HOR. Od. xii. Lib. i.

Conceal'd an age the rooted vengeance grows.

FRANCIS.

It

It nouriſhes the ſenſe of injury; and, daſhing down the cup of vengeance, ſheds its ſanguinary contents. The difference of characters in different towns is very great. The people of Trapani are moſt accuſed of the paſſion of revenge.

The love of liberty is common to the inhabitants of both kingdoms; and, be it told to the honour of the Neapolitans, they have conſtantly reſiſted the introducing of that dreadful and deteſtable tribunal, the Inquiſition. Sicily was firſt relieved from it by the preſent King.

The defects of a hot climate have free play among the Sicilians, Neapolitans, and Italians, in general; from the public and private education of youth, which is neglected in a moſt indefenſible manner. Like as, in this climate, the manifold fruits of the fertile ſoil are intermingled with numerous kinds of thiſtles of uncommon growth, ſo do failings and vices luxuriantly rankle, in the national character of this people; whoſe talents and capabilities are uncommonly great. Voluptuouſneſs, anger, and revenge, glow in their fiery temperament with unabated heat. When not irritated, they are a well meaning people.

To this good intention muſt be attributed the prepoſſeſſing and noble hoſpitality of the inhabitants of both kingdoms; and to this the ſecurity with which ſtrangers live in Rome: although there are annually five hundred murders committed in that city; not as the ſacrifices of rapacity, but of jealouſy, ſudden anger, and revenge.

Their infant children teſtify violent anger; and their tears are accompanied with tokens of obſtinacy, and vehemence. A part of theſe failings may probably be placed to the account of inherited qualities*, and heat of blood; but as great a part, at leaſt, may be juſtly attributed to the unreaſonableſs of parents, and their impetuous manner of teaching their children. Accuſtomed to play with ſtones, the boys are armed with this dangerous weapon of paſſion; and, if a ſtone be thrown at a dog, all the boys hurl at the unfortunate animal; while their elders not only encourage this bad practice by their ſilence, but frequently by their example. Their general treatment of animals is a proof of the rude ſtate of their feelings.

* The good and the bad qualities of theſe people, like the good and the bad qualities of all human beings, are the reſult of the circumſtances under which they exiſt. Change thoſe and their qualities will change. T.

In

In a country ſo fruitful as this, idleneſs is native. The inhabitant of the north is obliged to ſupply his wants by the ſweat of his brow: among which wants are a ſtrong diet, warm clothing, much firing, and diſtilled liquors. The more abſtemious Italians and Sicilians are lightly fed, and lightly clothed. Although their fiery wines in many places are as cheap as our table beer, yet drunkenneſs is with them an uncommon vice. In Italy, I ſaw one or two men intoxicated; and in Sicily none. The climate is ſo mild that they are in need neither of a ſubſtantial nor of a roomy habitation; and their very mechanics generally work in the ſtreets. Shade and repoſe are their natural wants, and the origin of their indolence; which, however theſe circumſtances may plead in its excuſe, is ſtill fearful in its conſequences.

One of theſe conſequences is the number of beggars, who are often impudent; and appear more ſo to travellers than they are in reality. The traveller too frequently forgets that beggars themſelves cannot but partake of the national vivacity.

The Italians and Sicilians are accuſed of ſelfiſhneſs; nor is the accuſation entirely groundleſs:

groundleſs: though I have found among them men of all ranks who poſſeſſed generoſity. It was no uncommon thing for the lower order of people to refuſe any recompenſe from me, or my fellow travellers, for the trouble they had taken, or the civilities they had ſhewn. Neither ought a nation to be judged by people whoſe profeſſion it is to live by ſtrangers. How would thoſe be miſtaken who, judging from the ſelfiſhneſs of many innkeepers, and their ſervants, in the German part of Switzerland, ſhould make them the characteriſtic ſtandard of the German Swiſs; who are the nobleſt people on God's earth!

In countries where nature produces much ſpontaneouſly, and much more with little labour, men ought to have been allured to an active life by the opening of new channels of induſtry: but here its efforts are frequently neglected by the tardineſs of government; and, what is worſe, frequently oppoſed by the obſtinacy of caution.

A lively fancy, miſguided by a defective religious education, becomes the nurſe of credulity. Hence trifling ceremonies uſurp the place of ſerious duties; and the muttering of words without meaning is the ſubſtitute of love,

love, and purity of heart. To these must be attributed depravity of manners, and frequently a want of faith.

The superabundance of nature and the neglect of education are discoverable, both in the language and in the beautifully formed yet violently agitated countenances of the Italians, in their loud clear-toned voices, that wound while they please the ear, and in the comparison that may be made between them and their children.

I never have any where seen more beautiful or intelligent children, among the common people, than in these countries. Rapid in their progress at first, as rapidly is that progress at an end. I have no where met with so few crooked, so few deformed, infants at their birth as here: nor any where so many that have become so by neglect: never in any place so many one-eyed, blind, lame in the hands, withered, distorted objects, and cripples of every kind, as in Italy and Sicily: especially in the former. How frequently do you meet on the island, as well as on the continent, with unfortunate men and women, whose countenances have been half eaten away by cancer, or by leprosy! The spectator shud-

ders,

ders, and doubts whether the poor wretch be ſuffering for the ſins of youth, or for the irregular paſſions of parents. He turns involuntarily from the ſight, and with irreſiſtible abhorrence; which, in a moment, is changed into compaſſion.

There is a cuſtom, proper to Sicily, which I muſt not forget to mention. This is a right of purchaſe of a ſingular kind. If any man buy an eſtate, be it houſe, land, or vineyard, the neighbour of the purchaſer, for the ſpace of an entire year afterward, may eject him by an advance of price. In vain would the firſt purchaſer give more to the original owner. This ſingular law is generally evaded by a falſehood. The purchaſe money is ſtated, in the articles of agreement, at a higher ſum than has been agreed upon in the preſence of four witneſſes.

There is another no leſs ſingular law in Sicily: according to which any man can oblige his neighbour to ſell his houſe, if he will pay him three times its value. The intention of this law was the improvement of the towns. It was to encourage the poſſeſſors of large houſes to purchaſe the humble abodes of the poor.

LET-

LETTER XCVI.

San Iorio near Naples, 18th July 1792.

ON the 10th, at ſeven in the evening, we went on board a little veſſel, in the port of Meſſina, of the kind that are called *ſperonari*. They are long, ſmall, conſequently light, have ſeven rowers, and carry much ſail. The people of Malta are the inventors, and almoſt the only poſſeſſors, of this kind of veſſel. They have only been imitated by the Syracuſians. Our ſperonaro was from Syracuſe. We ordered it round to Meſſina, becauſe, in the preſent uncertainty of theſe ſeas, ſuch veſſels uſually eſcape the corſairs. Larger veſſels, unleſs armed for their defence, if met by the corſairs generally become their booty. The corſairs are built not for trade but for piracy: conſequently they have great advantages over other ſhips. Quick as the *ſperonari* can ſail, yet the ſailors, if purſued by the Barbarians, will not truſt to this, but take up their oars, and row againſt the wind; in which exerciſe they are unequalled by the Africans.

There is no example of a *ſperonaro*, unencumbered with merchandize, having been taken by the corſairs.

At ſun riſe on the 11th, we ſaw almoſt all the Lipari iſlands; partly facing us, and partly on our left. Some ſay they are ſeven in number, ſome ten, and others twelve: according as the eſtimate does or does not include *Alicudi*, and *Felicudi*, on the weſt, and other ſmall iſlands, which are properly no more than rocks. The Italians and Sicilians, like the ancients, are inclined to exaggerate; and willingly call a cliff an iſland, and a brook a river.

Of theſe Lipari, which is a biſhop's ſee, is the largeſt; and is held, both by ancients and moderns, to be the Æolian iſland of Homer: in which Æolus, the friend of the immortal Gods, to whom Jupiter entruſted the care of the winds, was the hoſt of Ulyſſes; and gave him all the winds impriſoned in a leather bag: the weſt wind excepted, becauſe that was favourable to his navigation. Ulyſſes would not truſt the helm to his companions; and, on the 10th day, ſaw himſelf near his beloved Ithaca, when he was overcome by a ſweet ſleep. His fooliſh comrades opened the bag; imagining it contained a treaſure: when ſuddenly

denly the winds blew a tempeſt, drove the ſhip again to ſea, and at laſt brought them back to Æolus *.

As theſe iſlands, which riſe like mountains out of the ſea with ſteep ſhores, are ſeen to a great diſtance, and as you turn toward them, like the wandering rocks of Homer in face of Scylla, always appear to have a different ſituation, the great poet, profiting by theſe circumſtances, called the iſland of Æolus the ſwimming iſland.

Lipari, like its companions, is high; and, like theirs, the declivity of its ſhores is ſteep. Theſe ſhores have the colour of iron: at leaſt when ſeen, as they were by us, at a diſtance. This ſuggeſted the idea of Homer, that the iſland of Æolus was walled round with braſs: a remark for which I have to thank the good *Padre Minaſi;* a friar of the order of St. Dominic, at Naples.

The iſland of Lipari was formerly volcanic. The following is the account which Diodorus gives of theſe iſlands.

" The wind burſts forth with great ruſhing " and noiſe, from the caverns of *Strongyle* " (Stromboli) and of *Hiera Hephæſta:* (conſe-

* See the tenth book of the Odyſſey.

" crated

" crated to Vulcan, and now called the Vol-
" cano.) They caſt out ſand, and hot ſtones:
" ſo that ſome believe they have a ſubterra-
" nean paſſage, and are connected with Ætna;
" and that they mutually vomit fire.

" *Liparus*, ſon of the Italian King Auſon,
" driven away by his brother, firſt peopled
" and cultivated the Æolian iſlands; and after
" him *Lipara* (Lipari) took its name. Æolus,
" the ſon of Hippotas, came there; and mar-
" ried Cyane, the daughter of Liparus. He
" was King of Lipara; and aided his wife's
" father, who ſighed after Italy, to conquer
" Sorento.

" Ulyſſes viſited this Æolus; who was an
" upright man, and was called the friend of
" the Gods. The invention of ſails is aſcribed
" to him. By obſerving the tokens which the
" fire afforded" (the aſcending ſmoke that appears fiery by night) " he could prognoſti-
" cate concerning the winds, to the inhabit-
" ants: from which the fable aroſe that he
" was the lord of the winds. Æolus had
" ſix ſons; one of whom reigned in the
" country of *Rhegium* (Reggio in Calabria),
" the five others in Sicily. The fame of their
" father, and their own mild and juſt beha-
" viour,

" viour, induced the Sicani and the Siculi, " who had always before been at variance, to " obey them. The family reigned long, till " it was extinct; and the Siculi afterward " elected their own princes: the Sicani waged " civil wars.

" Galled by the yoke of the Perſian Kings, " the people of *Caria* from *Cnidus*, and ſome " *Rhodians*, about the time of the 50th " Olympiad, (five hundred and ſeventy-five " years before Chriſt) determined to ſeek an- " other country. After an unſucceſsful at- " tempt in Sicily, being on their return, they " were kindly received in Lipara; where there " were only five hundred of the deſcendants " of the ancient inhabitants remaining, with " whom they intermingled.

" They armed a fleet againſt the Tyrrhene " pirates; and poſſeſſed in common the whole " of the lands; and the booty, taken in the " naval war. At laſt they divided the lands " of all theſe iſlands by lot; and in ſuch a " manner as that a new diviſion ſhould take " place every twenty years. They overcame " the Tyrrheni in many combats by ſea; and " ſent great preſents of plunder to Delphos. " Lipara was proſperous, and celebrated for

" its natural and beautiful haven; as like-
" wiſe for its warm ſprings, the peculiar pro-
" perties of which were not only beneficial,
" to certain diſeaſes, but rendered them plea-
" ſant to bathe in. Their alum mines likewiſe
" brought incredible wealth to the inhabit-
" ants. This little iſland was well provided
" with the fruits of the earth, and with what-
" ever was neceſſary for food; particularly
" with the fineſt orchards, and with fiſh of
" every kind *."

This deſcription is generally applicable to Lipari, at preſent: though I am ſurpriſed that Diodorus did not mention wine; for the muſcadel wine of that iſland is excellent.

The fiction that Æolus ruled the winds, and the account of his being able to foretel the change of the wind by the prognoſtics of fire, on which this fiction was grounded, were occaſioned by the opportunities he had of obſerving the wind, which changes ſooner in the high regions than in the low: and mariners to this day predict the change of the wind from the ſmoke that riſes out of the volcanic iſlands, and from the vapours that aſcend from the others.

* Diod. vol. i. l. v. p. 335.

In

In the war between Syracuſe and Athens, the people of Lipari took part with the firſt. The following account is given by Thucydides.

" In the winter (of the ſecond year of " the 88th Olympiad, 426 years before Chriſt, " and the 5th of the Peloponneſian war) the " people of Rhegium, and the Athenians, " ſailed together againſt the iſlands called after " Æolus. It was not poſſible to make a cam- " paign there in ſummer; becauſe water was " wanting in theſe iſlands *. The people of " Lipari, the deſcendants of the *Cnidii*, poſ- " ſeſſed theſe iſlands; and inhabited one of " them, *Lipara*, which is not large; and went " from Lipara to the others, the lands of which " they tilled †. Their names are *Didyme*, " *Strongyle*, and *Hiera*. The people there " believe that Hephæſtus (Vulcan) forged in " Hiera: becauſe much fire was ſeen to aſcend " out of it by night, and ſmoke by day. The " Athenians ravaged their lands, becauſe they

* This is not true of all of them. I found good water in Stromboli.

† Modern geographers are miſtaken, when they affirm that to be the caſe at preſent. The largeſt of the Lipari iſlands are inhabited: the ſmalleſt only are tilled by their neighbours.

" took part with the Syracuſians: but the " people of Lipari were ſtedfaſt in their alli- " ance, and their enemies returned to Rhe- " gium *.

Agathocles ſailed to Lipari, and levied a contribution of fifty talents; part of which had been dedicated to Vulcan, and part to Æolus: and the people became confirmed in the belief that Æolus governed the winds, becauſe eleven of the ſhips, that bore away this money, foundered †.

The people of Lipari adhered to the houſe of Anjou, after the French had been driven out of Sicily. The houſe of Arragon, at the concluſion of peace in the year 1363, firſt got poſſeſſion of theſe iſlands ‡.

The iſlands of Volcano, Volcanello, and Stromboli, emit fire. Volcanello is only a rock in the ſea, and muſt have riſen in modern times; as it is not mentioned by the ancients; and no doubt it was thrown up by a ſubterranean eruption of fire.

We had ſeen the iſland of Stromboli lying before us the whole morning, and its height made it appear to be at a little diſtance: yet,

* Thuc. lib. iii. p. 221. † Diod. lib. xx.

‡ Amico, Lex. Top. Sic.

though the wind was favourable, we did not reach it till the afternoon. Stromboli was called *Strongyle*, which ſignified round, by the Greeks; and it is ſtill called *Strongoli* by its inhabitants, and the Sicilian ſailors. It conſiſts only of a very high mountain; on the eaſtern coaſt of which we landed, where the ſtrand is covered with black aſhes, which are mixed with ſhining ſand. Seeing us land, ſome of the inhabitants approached us armed, and demanded to ſee our paſſports, and bills of health: which bills of health are called *prattica*. We had paſſports from the viceroy, but not from the *governatore* in Lipari; for we had not been there; and our bills of health did not ſtate that we ſhould land at Stromboli. We durſt therefore only proceed along the coaſt at a certain given diſtance, without approaching the habitations. They gave us permiſſion however to aſcend the mountain, and viſit the crater; by which Jacobi profited: but the heat and ſteepneſs of the mountain deterred the reſt of the company.

I went to a projecting rock on the ſhore, behind which I bathed in the ſea; and thither an iſlander accompanied me as a guard, whoſe wife ran haſtily, from her hut on the decli-

vity of the mountain, and brought him a gun. Notwithſtanding their watchfulneſs, which has an appearance of wildneſs and ferocity, theſe few iſlanders are very friendly. We bought ſome good white muſcadel of them; and a kind of red wine, which is ſo very ſpirited that the taſte of the *lacryma* of Veſuvius and Poſilipo, in compariſon, ſeemed inſipid.

The wind was fair, and, ſailing to a diſtance, we ſaw the red ſmoke aſcend by night out of the ever reſtleſs crater of Stromboli. At one o'clock in the day on the 12th, we deſcried a ſhip; at which our ſailors often looked through a teleſcope, while we remained unconcerned. However they ſuddenly took to their oars; and with viſible anxiety rowed, with might and main.

They believed the ſhip to be a Barbary corſair; and I imagine they were right: for, though we could not accurately examine the crew through the teleſcope, yet they appeared to us to wear long garments. They hailed us: we did not underſtand them; and our ſailors, far from any deſire to parley with them, plied their oars with double diligence. They immediately ſailed in our direction: but, as they might well deſpair of coming up with

with our *ſperonaro*, they ſoon continued their courſe.

Some hours afterward, we ſailed round the promontory which Virgil tells us derived its name from *Palinurus:* the pilot of Æneas, who here fell into the ſea. It is ſtill called *Capo Palinuro.* We delighted our eyes with viewing the beautiful ſhores of the *Principato citra.*

Toward evening, a ſtrong favourable wind ſprung up; and we hoped to reach Salerno, intending to complete our journey by land: but a ſtorm came on, and our ſailors took ſhelter in a little bay.

Early on the 13th, we rowed farther out to ſea; and our ſailors were not able to weather the promontory of Licoſa. We were therefore obliged to land at the port of *Lazarolo*, which conſiſts only of a few houſes, after having been in danger of being ſtranded on a rock. The ſea ran ſo high that we were conſtrained to remain there the whole day. I had gone on board a *ſperonaro*, with the eldeſt Mr. Von Droſt; and we had not ſeen our friends ſince we left Stromboli: ſo that we were anxious concerning them, as well from the ſtorm as from the ſuſpected corſair.

We at laſt left *Lazarolo* in the evening, ſailed by night through the bay of Salerno, and early in the morning ſaw the iſland of Capri, lying before us; the ſouth coaſt of which has a much ruder aſpect than the north. High rocks, ſeparated from it and forming a ſmall ſtrait, towered toward the weſt; through one of which there is an aperture, that has probably been made by the daſhing of the waves; and the ſea is ſeen through this as through an arched gateway.

In the afternoon, we landed at Naples; which I left in ſearch of my wife and children: whom I once more met, after having parted with them on the 27th of April.

LETTER XCVII.

Piano di Sorento, 19th September 1792.

INCLINED to ſpend ſome ſummer months in one of the moſt beautiful countries of Italy, and enjoy ourſelves in freedom and undiſturbed, we ſailed on the 21ſt of July in the

A View in the Island of Cuba and of the Mountain Cyrami

Letter XVII

Drawn & etch after Nature by G.N.L. Newbery

A View in the Island of Sandwich

Letter XCVII

the afternoon, to this valley; which has charms of a great and a peculiar kind. It appears to be diſtinguiſhed by nature from the whole of the remaining world.

Its approach by land is exceedingly difficult; and for its acceſs by ſea it is indebted to the hand of man. It may be about four leagues in circumference, and lies in the form of a half moon, backed by its mountainous coaſt; which is circular, and lofty. Its ſhores conſiſt of ſteep rocks; which, fearful in their height and aſpect, now ſink perpendicular to the ſea, and now form a narrow ſtrand, with ſpace for the fiſhermen and ſailors to build their houſes, and profit by their grottos, in which they lay up ſome of their veſſels.

The road, that leads from the ſtrand to the valley, is cut in the rocks; the tops of which are ſhaded with large trees, and among others with the fineſt pines I have ever ſeen. Few trees produce ſo great an effect as theſe prodigious pines; which riſe, on their upright trunks, high above the rocky ſhore, and, with their broad branches forming an umbrella, tower in the air.

The lofty mountains are embelliſhed by the oak, the cheſnut, and the olive; and the

piano,

piano, or the plain, which itſelf is high, is covered with houſes: to each of which there is a plat of ground, planted with vines, fruit trees, and *agrumi*.

Some of the vines twine round the high ſtems of fruit trees, and ſpread from tree to tree: others, higher than any that I have ſeen before, the wild vines of Calabria only excepted, cling to the peeled trunks of ſlender cheſnut trees, which are brought chiefly for that purpoſe from the mountains.

Theſe cheſnut trees, like the beech in Harz foreſt, and the elder in the north of Germany, are planted from ſhoots; which take root and grow. When they are ten years old, they are peeled. I ſaw ſome of them in the iſland of Iſchia, where vegetation is remarkably vigorous, that were only ſeven years old, which were at leaſt as tall as our beech, of five-and-thirty, in the north of Germany, and covered with fruit.

The *agrumi* trees of every kind attain an uncommon height, and degree of fertility, in this valley; and the lemons and oranges are ſent from here in great quantities to Naples, Salerno, Rome, Leghorn, and Ancona.

We live in a pleaſant country-houſe, half a league

a league from the little town of Sorento, near the village of *Carotta*. Looking between orange groves and vineyards, both of which riſe much higher than the ſecond ſtory of our houſe, we have on one ſide a proſpect, from our windows and from two large open balconies, over many gardens to the high woody mountains; and on the other ſide over fruit trees and vines to the ſea, and its curving ſhore, Naples and Portici: with intervening country ſeats, which, by their diſtance, ſeem to give to thoſe two places the appearance of one undivided and prodigious city; and thus render this retirement of Paradiſe more heavenly. In the back ground, the proſpect is divided into four rows of mountains: the laſt of which towers in the province of Abruzzo. The lofty iſland of Iſchia appears to be in our very neighbourhood, on the left; and every evening, at ſun ſet, to ſwim in the glowing horizon.

Great beauties are met with in many parts of the two Sicilies: but this valley is ſingular in its various rocky dells, or cliffs, from the narrow paths of which the eye looks, with dread and pleaſure, on the verdant lap of earth below. Here, in the very hotteſt days, you find

find the moſt refreſhing repoſe. At one moment the cliffs divide, affording openings through which a conſiderable part of the dark-appearing atmoſphere is ſeen; as are the tops of many trees that ſhade their rocky brows; and, in the depth below, the rank ivy every where winding its tendrils, with ſhrubs, and clumps, innumerable: at another, the cliffs cloſe again, in ſo narrow a compaſs that the reign of night appears eternal, and the ſhrill twittering of the bat is heard.

Thus, I ſaw, on one ſide, the golden beams of the ſun falling through the tops of the trees on the ſuſpended ivy: and, on the other ſide, the ſhining of the glow-worm; as if it were night.

One of theſe valleys, in the road to *Caſtell-a-Mare*, is ſo wide as to contain a whole grove of *agrumi*.

In another very deep dale, not far from Sorento, there is a little caſcade; that falls over the rocks.

In a central height, there is a ſmall chapel, built on a projecting rock; the burning tapers of which, when it is dark, produce a beautiful effect over the gloomy valley.

I mentioned, in my letter of the 19th of April,

April, a ſimilar place on the other ſide of Sorento; where we ſaw a Monk catching quails.

Immediately behind our garden, there is a long rocky dell; and, in ſimilar places, the vineyards of various proprietors ſtand ſeparate from each other. I have no conception what could be the accidents of nature, that have produced theſe deep clefts, and beds of earth: but, in a country where her terrors are contraſted with the flowers of eternal ſpring, ſuch cliffs, cavities, and dells, poſſeſs an inexpreſſible charm.

The *Piano di Sorento* is backed by the ridge of mountains which, ending with the *Capo Campanello*, form a ſide of the bay of Naples; and ſeparate it from the bay of Salerno. The mountains of theſe bays, in many parts, abound in aromatic ſhrubs; and here the eye overlooks ſea, iſlands, and lands, from *Capo Licoſa* to *Monte Circella;* and, immediately on the ſhore of the *Golfo di Salerno*, thoſe ſingular cliffs are ſeen which are called *Le Galle;* and which, by many of the ancients and moderns, have been held to be the iſland of the Sirens.

One of the moſt beautiful places I have ſeen in my whole journey is the garden of the Capuchin

Capuchin friars, near Sorento; which lies upon the rocks of the ſhore.

From this, you have a view of the whole bay of Naples; with the numerous ſmaller bays, to the right and left of the ſtretching coaſts, one of which conceals the iſland of Capri.

No where are Mount Veſuvius and the lofty iſland of Iſchia ſeen to ſuch advantage. Yet, even from theſe grand and diſtant objects, the eye turns to contemplate the ſurrounding rocky ſhores; the caverns and crags of which ſwallow up or repel the foaming waves, while the roaring of the angry ſea is inceſſant.

Many ſhrubs, particularly the caper with its charming flower, ſprout among the rocks: which are topped with high overhanging trees. Through theſe rocks ſteps are cut from the garden down to the ſhore; where the daſhing of the waves is the moſt violent: and here there is a wide cavity cut, the two ſides of which are of unequal depth; ſo that you may waſh your feet in the one, and ſwim in the other.

I have juſt reminded you of the pleaſure this ſituation afforded me when, in April, I was below in a boat, and ſaw a Monk ſtanding above,

above, ſpreading nets to catch quails. Prodigious numbers of theſe birds of paſſage are caught twice a year, in ſpring and in autumn, on the ſhores of the bay of Naples; and particularly in the iſland of Capri.

The population of the *Piano di Sorento*, allowing the town itſelf to contain four thouſand inhabitants, is eſtimated at eighteen thouſand ſouls: and this in a circumference of ſcarcely four leagues!

Formerly, the whole plain of Sorento belonged to the town; which was inhabited by many of the nobility: but the inhabitants were impoveriſhed, ſome centuries ago, by the African pirates; who landed, and carried off their wives and daughters, in great numbers. The lovely priſoners were ranſomed by their fathers, huſbands, and brothers: but for this purpoſe their lands were neceſſarily ſold.

A ſoft yet ſerious melancholy, combined with amenity, characterizes the inhabitants of Sorento, and its plain; and diſtinguiſhes them, in a very ſtriking manner, both from the ſanguine noiſy Neapolitans and from the ardent natives of Iſchia, who are as hot as the atmoſphere to which they are expoſed. The inhabitants

bitants of the plain are proſperous, and pay no taxes, except for the ſilk that they ſpin, and the wine that they export. Thoſe who till lands hired out of their own diſtrict frequently pay an extravagant rent, for they have many competitors for the farming of theſe lands. Thus, though they live by the ſweat of their brow, they live in indigence.

This valley, being protected from the mid-day heats by the mountains, enjoys a mild air. The heat, even in the dog days, is not oppreſſive. Thus happily ſituated is this corner of the earth, in which the fineſt fruits attain the very higheſt degree of perfection; and where I yeſterday, at this ſeaſon of the year, ate the fruit of the *cactus opuntia*, which here grows wild, and which in Germany is the produce only of the hot-houſe; where, at the moment that I am now writing, I ſee before me ſwelling cluſters of the gold and purple grape, large and beautiful beyond conception, pendent from the tall branches. Some of the lemon trees are now a ſecond time in full bloom.

It is now more than a week ſince the vintage was over. I cannot give any reaſon for its beginning more early, in this cool valley, than

than in the hot countries of Italy. In Iſchia, ripe grapes have been eaten theſe ſix weeks: yet the vintage does not begin there before the end of September.

We ſpent the laſt fortnight of Auguſt, and the firſt week of September, in the iſland of Iſchia; and have made the tour of the whole iſland, which is three German miles in circumference, on the backs of aſſes. The trees, which I ſaw covered with bloom in April, I now beheld loaded with fruit. The *agrumi*, which then afforded their golden produce, full, ripe, and dazzling among the boughs, are now colouring with a ſecond crop; and ſhip loads of ſweet oranges have already been ſent to Rome. The apple of the pomegranate is reddening, and here and there new buds, ſhall I ſay are continuing, or are beginning, to appear.

The fruit of the ſtrawberry tree, the foliage and ſlender growth of which reſemble the laurel, is now ripening. This fruit hangs, like the cherry, to a ſtalk, is round, and of a ſhining ſcarlet colour. The red and white azerole now ripen; a fruit that has a charming acid taſte: and now too the white and red

ſerbe *. Various figs are here as large as at Sorento. The figs that we are able to rear no perſon here would eat: they give better to the hogs.

This iſland produces a kind of vine, which, if I do not miſtake, is peculiar to itſelf. It bears three crops: one in Auguſt, one in December, and another at the end of February. Its grapes are called *tre volte l'anno:* or three times a year, and, before the ripe fruit is plucked, the plant is again in bloom!

The fig-tree in many parts of both kingdoms, bears twice a year. Whether the thrice-bearing vine flouriſh in any other country than in Iſchia is more than I can ſay: but Homer appears to have been acquainted with the ſpecies. How applicable to this heavenly iſland is the following deſcription of the garden of Alcinous!

Ἐνθα δὲ δενδρεα μακρα πεφυκει τηλεθοωντα,
Ὀγχναι και ῥοιαι, και μηλεαι ἀγλαοκαρποι,
Συκαι τε γλυκεραι, και ελαιαι τηλεθοωσαι.
Ταων ἀποτε καρπος ἀπολλυται, ἀδ' επιλειπει
Χειματος, ἐδε θερευς, επετησιος· ἀλλα μαλ' ἀιει
Ζεφυριη πνειουσα, τα μεν φυει, ἀλλα δε πεσσει.

* I know not whether the *cerbera* be meant. T.

Ὀγχνη

Ὀγχνη ἐπ' ὀγχνῃ γηρασκει, μηλον δ' ἐπι μηλῳ,
Αυταρ ἐπι σαφυλῃ σαφυλη, σῦκον δ' ἐπι συκῳ.
Ενθα δε οἱ πολυκαρπος αλωη ἐρρἰζωται.
Της ετερον μεν θειλοπεδον λευρῳ ἐνι χωρῳ
Τερσεται ἠελιῳ· ἑτερας δ' ἀρα τε τρυγοωσιν,
Αλλας δε τραπεωσι· παροιθε δε τ' ὀμφακες εἰσιν,
Ανθος ἀφιεισαι· ἑτεραι δ' υποπερκαζωσιν.

Hom. Od. vii. 114.

Cloſe to the gates a ſpacious garden lies;
From ſtorms defended, and inclement ſkies:
Four acres was th' allotted ſpace of ground,
Fenc'd with a green encloſure all around.
The branch here bends, beneath the weighty pear;
And verdant olives flouriſh round the year.
The balmy ſpirit of the weſtern gale
Eternal breathes, on fruits untaught to fail:
Each dropping pear a following pear ſupplies;
On apples apples, figs on figs ariſe:
The ſame mild ſeaſon gives the blooms to blow,
The buds to harden and the fruits to grow.

Here ordered vines in equal ranks appear,
With all th' united labours of the year;
Some to unload the fertile branches run,
Some dry the black'ning cluſters in the ſun,
Others to tread the liquid harveſt join,
The groaning preſſes foam with floods of wine.
Here are the vines in early flow'r deſcry'd,
Here grapes diſcolour'd on the ſunny-ſide,
And there in autumn's richeſt purple dy'd.

Pope, Od. b. vii. 142.

However, this third time ripening kind of

winter-grape is not very highly eſteemed. The berries of February ſeldom ripen: and, when they do, they are never uſed for wine.

Nothing can be more lovely than the woods, the vineyards, and the diſtributed habitations on the ſides and at the foot of the mountain Epomeo: or than the ſituations of the little towns, villages, and country houſes, on the declivities of the hills toward the ſea: the enchanting proſpects of which acquire new and variegated charms, from the cragged ſhores of the iſland.

The population of Iſchia is given at twenty-two thouſand.

The land proprietors are very wealthy, the tenants frequently poor. The former pays no other tax than a *ſcudo*, or two convention florins *, for each *faſs* † of wine which is exported. A *faſs* contains ſix *eimer:* an *eimer* eighty *flaſks*.

The baths of Iſchia are famous for their different qualities, and for the cure of different diſeaſes. There is a great inſtitution called *Monte di miſericordia:* where there are annu-

* *Zween Gulden Conventionsmünze.*

† I do not know the accurate contents of the meaſures here enumerated. T.

ally ſix hundred poor patients bathed, taken care of, and fed, for a fortnight, at the expence of a private ſociety in Naples.

The air of Iſchia is very healthy; except for thoſe perſons who have diſeaſes of the lungs, or the nerves: but it is far from being as cool as that of Sorento.

The natural beauties of the *Piano di Sorento* poſſeſs a more ſerious character; and perhaps a more dignified ſublimity. The charms of Iſchia are cheering, and fill the heart with delight: and its inhabitants are perhaps the moſt deſerving of affection on earth. The blood flows ſparkling through their veins; and their whole being is friendlineſs and joy. Friendlineſs is always heartfelt; and joy is never deprived of ſimplicity of manners, or unaccompanied by innocence.

In their perſons they are handſome, particularly the women: yet I have ſeen more beautiful women in Taranto, and finer men on the north coaſt of Sicily. The young girls of Iſchia have many native graces. Some of them danced to the *tamborine*, in the court of the houſe where we lived, almoſt every evening, a dance which is called *Tarantella*; becauſe it comes from Taranto. Two people

dance together: never two men; ſeldom a man and a woman; but generally two women, or young girls. The *tamborine* too is always played by a woman.

This inſtrument conſiſts of a broad circular rim, one ſide of which is covered like a drum. On the rims are flat bits of metal, that ſtrike againſt each other; and little bells fixed croſs way, over the holes in the ſides of the rim, the muſic of which accompanies the beating of the drum.

This is enlivened by the ſinging of the girls that play. The ſongs they ſing abound in *naïveté*, and ſenſibility; and, in general, are the complaints of lovers, of the cruelties of the maiden beloved. The ſubject is never the love of woman: though it is woman by whom the ſongs are ſung. Thus are the fair every where flattered, by the homage of the ſtrongeſt ſex. The muſician ſings with ſo loud a voice that you would rather hear her at a diſtance than be by her ſide, did not her ſerious and animated mien fix your attention. You imagine you behold a prieſteſs of Apollo, ſeated on the tripod; and that the muſic is the inſpiration of the God.

No dance is ſo full of decorum, and grace,

as

as this. The head inclining, the down-caſt eye, the noble dignity of mien, and the inimitable elaſticity with which they move, ſcarcely touching the ground, then raiſing their arms, entwining them and running the ever-changeable mazes of the dance, inſpire feelings which I cannot deſcribe.

Fortunata, a delicately-formed and beautiful creature of fifteen, excelled them all in grace, agility, and imagination. Franceſca, with her blooming cheeks, was the very perfection of kind and courteous ſerenity. A common ſervant maid, who, like girls of her claſs, was employed in the loweſt offices, danced with a dignity in her motions that abſolutely excited our aſtoniſhment.

Every two months a new national ſong is compoſed, at Naples: which, with its tune, immediately ſpreads among the ſurrounding coaſts, and iſlands. It is ſeldom tranſcribed, but fixes itſelf in the memory by its attractions. It yields to its ſucceſſor, like the flowers and fruits of the changeable months. Some, however, which, from their peculiarly ſimple charms, or becauſe they contain ſome afflicting ſtory of a lover, or heartbreaking com-

plaints of a cruel maiden, produce ſtronger ſenſations than uſual, are preſerved.

We were once ſitting on a hill, on which there were many young ſlender cheſnut trees; and little boys, of from five to ſeven years of age around us, were climbing theſe trees. When they were high enough to make the tree bend, they caught hold of ſome other tree with great caution, and ſwung from the firſt to the ſecond. Sometimes they could bend the ſtem ſo low as to be able to reach the topmoſt branch; and, profiting by the naturally elaſtic power of the tree, which they let go, one of them would ſuffer himſelf to be ſnatched as it were to the top. In this manner they played each other various tricks: but none of them took offence at his companions. When they were weary they ſat down beſide us on the graſs; and, as if we had all been long acquainted, ſhelled their cheſnuts, ate themſelves, and aſked us to eat in ſo friendly a manner that we could not forbear participating of their unroaſted fruit.

Through all Italy, particularly in the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, there are many Saint's days; and theſe are times of feſtivity: but

but thoſe who imagine that the people do not work on ſuch days are miſtaken. Sunday is the only day on which they entirely ceaſe from labour. The feſtivity of a Saint's day is particularly great in Iſchia; and the churches and chapels, built at the foot and on the ſides of the continually fire-emitting Epomeo, being illuminated in the evening, form a beautiful ſpectacle. The houſes are likewiſe frequently lighted up; on which occaſions lamps are placed on the flat roofs: while boys, and youths, burn old barrels, and ſhout in honour of the Saint.

The good old people ſit at their houſe doors, participate of the mirth of their children, and perhaps caſt a look, tinged with regret, at the burning caſk; which many a year has held their wine: but hope at the ſame time that the Saint will remember their piety, and bleſs them with the rich vintage of the following ſeaſon.

On the eve of every feſtival, little mortars are fired off, in the front of the church; and ſky-rockets are frequently thrown into the air. The Italians are never wearied with the ſight of fire, nor with the ſound of powder. Thus they

they will ſhoot at ſnakes, to hear the ſound of the gun.

The firſt eight days, which we ſpent in the fortunate iſland of Iſchia, were among the happieſt of our whole journey; and the feeling of this happineſs impelled me to write the poem I ſend our Edward*. I call it the Heſperides; after theſe blooming but not fabulous gardens.

God intentionally gave the vintage before the winter; and, in like manner, frequently indulges us in a peculiar vintage of joy when pain is impending. My little daughter, born at Naples, was taken ill and died, after ſix days bodily ſuffering; which certainly was more grievous to the mother than to the child.

* This Poem, which is in three cantos, I have forborne to tranſlate: partly becauſe it contains only deſcriptions of ſcenes already deſcribed, and partly from the difficulty of preſerving the ſpirit of the author. The poetical metaphors of nations are reconcileable each to itſelf from cuſtom, though each are frequently offenſive to every other nation; and I think this peculiarly the caſe in the German language: ſome of the metaphors of which we ſhould conceive to be too extravagant, ſome too inſipid, and ſome too mean. With the ſhort poems that I have already tranſlated, I have thought myſelf juſtified in taking great liberties. T.

She

She is gone home, from this earthly to a ſtill more beautiful and heavenly paradiſe. Happy for her that ſhe could not miſtake the way! That ſhe was

Werth ſchnell wegzublühen, der blumen Edens beſſre geſpielinn *.

KLOPSTOCK.

The affectionate character of the people diſplayed itſelf during the ſickneſs of the infant. They were eager to encourage my wife with the hope of the recovery of the child, of which they themſelves were very deſirous. Strangers, whoſe names were unknown to me, enquired after the health of the patient; and, from the winding hollow path below our window, I frequently heard them aſk *Che fa la bambina?* How does the little girl?

They have a pleaſing cuſtom in this iſland, when a grown-up perſon dies, of aſſembling all their friends in an evening to pray for the ſoul of the deceaſed: but, if it be a child, to congratulate the afflicted relations on its beatification: on which occaſions the friends are all feaſted.

An old countryman, with a dignified and friendly ſagacity, thus addreſſed us: "Do not

* An early gueſt of blooming Eden worthy found.

"grieve

" grieve for the death of your child: ſhe is " in paradiſe. She is now praying to God " for you. You have ſent a ſoul to heaven. " She will hover over you during your jour- " ney, and will guard you from danger."

Happy iſlanders! The ſea has ſeparated you from cities and nations! May you remain as you are, bleſſed by the ſame cuſtoms, animated by the ſame piety! So will your joys remain: and, as from generation to generation you ſhall be gathered to your fathers, thoſe joys will everlaſtingly increaſe!

LETTER XCVIII.

Naples, 26th September 1792.

TWO days ago, we left our beloved *Piano di Sorento:* but were deſirous not to quit the kingdom of Naples, till we ſhould firſt have viſited La Cava, and Vietri. We ſet ſail from our valley, and coaſted along the ſhore till we croſſed to Caſtell-a-mare. I have already deſcribed the road to La Cava and Vietri, in a letter

a letter dated at Salerno; which lies beyond Vietri. You experience a remarkable contraſt, when, after leaving the extremely fertile plains that lie between Caſtell-a-mare and Nocera, you arrive at the high Apennines. In thoſe plains the loaded vine, planted in fruitful corn fields, twines its tendrils round the lofty elm.

The Apennine mountains with grandeur combine a kind of friendly character. They are well wooded, and they do not ſtretch out in long uninterrupted backs, but conſiſt of diſtinct hills; the middle regions of which meet each other, while you have an open proſpect of the horizon between their ſummits.

We ſaw many round towers on theſe lofty heights; which, ſeen from afar, appeared like ſingle prodigious pillars, and are built along the mountains at nearly equal diſtances. We were informed of their deſtination at Vietri. The country abounds in pigeons; to catch which large nets are ſpread. On each of theſe towers, a man is ſtationed with a ſling, and, when a flight of pigeons comes near enough, he throws a ſtone out of the ſling, which they ſuppoſe to be a bird of prey, hovering over them. The ſlinger knows how with great dexterity, by the direction in which he throws,

throws, to guide the flight of the pigeons; and continues to throw till, at laſt, they are taken in a net.

There is a deep valley, near La Cava, from which no doubt the place derives its name: although the valley itſelf, from the mills which are worked by its waters, is called *Mulina*. This valley is juſtly celebrated for its beauty; embelliſhed as it is with large trees, *agrumi*, fruits of every kind, and every where the clinging vine, while it is arched over by the bold projecting rocks, the forms of which are various. Theſe rocks conſiſt of *ſtalactites*, that hang like icicles in ſplinters of ſpar. One of theſe great caverns is peculiarly beautiful: its cavities open like prodigious jaws; the hollow throats of which are ſunk deep in the rock. Here, in its innermoſt darkneſs, the waters ſtream on all ſides from the ſtone, which is overgrown with ivy, and maiden-hair: *adiantum*, *capillum Veneris*. Theſe waters unite in the cavern; from which they ruſh and form a charming rivulet, that empties itſelf into the ſea near Vietri.

Vietri is built on a rock of the bay of Salerno, immediately fronting that town. I have more than once ſpoken of the enchanting

proſpects

proſpects which this bay affords. The gardens of Vietri ſtretch out, from the heights where the town is built, to the very ſea ſhore: while all that is grand and benevolent in nature is here united.

Every traveller has not an opportunity of paſſing through the ſouthern provinces of this kingdom, and Sicily: but no one ſhould quit Naples without having firſt viſited the iſlands of Iſchia and Capri, the *Piano di Sorento*, La Cava, and Vietri.

On our return, we again had a glance at the antiquities of Pompeii; and it was a ſatisfaction to me to remark the quantities of rubbiſh, that had been removed by the daily labour of ſeventy men in ſix months.

Now, while writing to you from Naples, I look toward the ſea; and there view multitudes of boats, in each of which a torch is burning, that, by its light, attracts a certain ſpecies of fiſh. The moon at the ſame moment glitters upon the waves; and on the left, for theſe ten days paſt, a new double-armed ſtream of lava has been pouring down from Mount Veſuvius.

Thus beautiful is the leave that we take of Naples.

Naples. To-morrow morning we ſhall ſet off on our return homeward.

LETTER XCIX.

Rome, 2d October 1792.

ON our journey from Naples, we made a delay of about four-and-twenty hours in Caſerta; where we were entertained, in a friendly manner, by Mr. Hackert.

In my letter dated the 6th of February, I have ſpoken of the great aqueduct; which may be compared to the greateſt of thoſe that were built by the Romans, and which was conſtructed by the late King, to whom the Two Sicilies are ſo much indebted. The plan was by Vanvitelli; one of the moſt celebrated architects of Italy, who likewiſe built the royal palace, which ranks among the fineſt in Europe. It conſiſts of four diviſions, or palaces, with four great courts. The ſtair-caſe is in the centre; where the palaces are connected

nected by vaulted perſpective colonnades; and it is admired as a ſingular maſterpiece of art. Above it is a grand circular hall; with two colonnades, and a lofty cupola.

The great Engliſh garden is pleaſant, becauſe of its extenſive proſpects toward the ſurrounding mountains, its ſhady walks, and its continued variety. It received new charms from the improvements made by Mr. Gräffer; a German gardener, who had formed himſelf by twenty years reſidence in England; and who, to the art of laying out grounds, has added botanical ſcience. He has not been five years in the King's ſervice; yet, favoured by the climate of Italy and the fertile ſoil of Capua, he has done enough in this ſhort time to excite general aſtoniſhment. In a country where the Indian fig grows wild, and under the care of a man of underſtanding, many of the exotics of the ſouth will flouriſh; and moſt of the plants of the north will delight in the ſuperior mildneſs of the air.

The King, about five years ago, eſtabliſhed a large ſilk manufactory, near Caſerta; at which they weave plain and brocaded ſilks. Between three and four hundred girls here find a livelihood; and, if any one marry a

workman in the manufactory, and continue to work for this eſtabliſhment, they and their families are ſupported. Each bride receives a portion of a hundred ducats; and the whole community, which began with forty perſons, conſiſts already of more than a thouſand: conſtituting a little State, the laws of which have been given by the King himſelf. He has apartments in the building, which he frequently inhabits.

I now viewed the countries of *Santa Agatha*, *Mola*, *Itri*, and *Fondi*, again in all their charms; which I had thought ſo beautiful in the beginning of February.

We paſſed haſtily through the Pontine marſh; and for having croſſed it without injury we may perhaps thank the uſe of camphor, and of that kind of vinegar which the French call *vinaigre des quatre voleurs:* the vinegar of the four thieves; and the Italians, who ſeldom are ſatisfied with ſmall numbers, *aceto de i ſette ladri:* or vinegar of the ſeven thieves. The danger is always very great; yet it was this year leſs than the laſt: partly becauſe the means taken by the Pope to dry the marſh are productive of annual improvement, and partly becauſe the falls of rain have been

been greater this ſummer than uſual; and therefore the firſt autumnal rains, which are frequently ſo pernicious, have been leſs dangerous in their effects.

Leaving the high road, we went from Albano to Fraſcati; and ſaw on our way the *Grotta ferrata:* which is the name of an abbey inhabited by monks; who, combining the Greek and Latin churches, live according to the order of St. Baſil. They fled from Calabria in the tenth century, and took refuge here under the conduct of St. Nileus.

This abbey deſerves to be viſited, becauſe it contains noble pictures in freſco, by Dominichino; by whom a whole chapel has been painted. Some of them have ſuffered from age. One of them repreſents a friar of the monaſtery, who went to meet Otho the Third, at the head of his army. Otho embraces the Saint. The Legend relates that the Emperor offered him the choice of any gift he ſhould demand; and that he anſwered, "The gift I demand is thy ſoul." The Emperor is ſurrounded by many warriors, and horſes; all full of life, abounding in the ſimplicity of nature. Nor can we ſufficiently admire the pure

ordonnance of the picture, or the dignity and truth of the expreſſion.

Another ſmall picture, in which a Saint is repreſented in the act of exorciſing a poſſeſſed boy, is in my opinion ſtill much more beautiful. The boy, held by his father, throws himſelf back, his body raiſed upon his toes, his arms ſtretched out, and raging, and his whole mien and attitude exhibiting the ſymptoms of the dreadful conflict. Garrick objected to a famous French comedian, who perſonated drunkenneſs, that his legs were ſober: the legs of this poſſeſſed boy are racked by the moſt deadly cramp. The father holds him with effort, but with hope: the weeping mother kneels; and fear and expectation are combating, in the countenances of the ſpectators. Theſe different paſſions are excellently expreſſed, in the faces of two boys; one of whom is all animation and hope, the other all anxiety and dread.

Behind the Saint a kneeling monk prays, with ardent devotion. The Saint himſelf alone is perfectly calm, perfectly certain of what is to follow, and this calm is equally expreſſed in his whole attitude and in his beautiful and placid

placid form. He opens the mouth of the boy with his left hand, and dips the right in the oil contained in a ſuſpended lamp: the power of which was rendered ſanative by his touch; or which rather was the viſible ſymbol of the gift of working miracles.

The animation of the paſſions is expreſſed in all the other countenances, and every where prevails; modified by the ſagacity of the great painter, the ſtrength of whoſe pencil knew the pure extent of the line of truth. Dominichino was as calm as the Saint he pourtrayed. He was guilty of no exceſs, of no wild attitude, miſrepreſenting life, but every where communicated the heartfelt glow of nature, in all her characteriſtic forms. A body poſſeſſed, drawn by ſuch a painter, will have geſtures which many of the modern, and particularly of the French, artiſts ſuppoſe are common to the paſſions of common life. Exceſs is the mark of weakneſs, as well in the artiſt as in the man.

The whole road, between Albano and Fraſcati, which is two Italian miles beyond the *Grotta ferrata*, abounds in pleaſing variety; and leads through woods, where different kinds of trees afford different kinds of foliage.

Fraſcati is built on the ſide of a woody mountain, which is about twelve Italian miles from Rome. On this mountain the ancient *Tuſculum* was built; the founding of which is aſcribed to *Telegonus*, who according to ſome was the ſon of Ulyſſes and Circe, and according to others the ſon of *Telemachus*. Fable in general adds to the antiquity of towns; but, if the opinion of Cluverius be true, and it appears to be well-founded, this fable robs *Tuſculum* of three hundred years of its real age: for it was built by the *Pelaſgi*, who drove the *Siculi* out of *Latium* three hundred years before the deſtruction of Troy.

Tuſculum is famous in the Roman hiſtory for its friendſhip with Rome; to which at laſt it fell a ſacrifice, as happened to every friend of this imperious city. It boaſts of having produced Cincinnatus, and Cato, the Cenſor; and is well known, to every reader of the ancients, for having been the country reſidence of Cicero: the place where his much loved *Tuſculanum* ſtood, after which he has named one of his immortal works.

After the expulſion of the Goths, it became a part of the States of the Church; and was preferred, by the Popes, to all other places in

the

the vicinity of Rome. Suſpecting the Romans, Alexander the Third retired to this place, in the year 1165; and, four years afterward, aided by the people of Tuſculum, attacked the Ghibelines in Rome: which party favoured the Emperor. Tuſculum was become an imperial town when, in the year 1191, Clement the Third, by an agreement, again united it to the States of the Church.

The hatred of the Romans, who feared that the Popes might again retire to this place, induced them to deſtroy Tuſculum, as a conquered town. The inhabitants retired to the ruins of one of their ſuburbs; among the groves of which they long continued to live. Hence Fraſcati derived its name: for *Fraſca*, in Italian, ſignifies a leafy bough. Lofty pines, that grow above the town on the mountain, point out the place where ancient Tuſculum ſtood.

Moſt of the moderns ſuppoſe the place where a Capuchin monaſtery ſtands, between the ruins of Tuſculum and Fraſcati, to have been the ſeat of the Tuſculanum of Cicero: but Cluverius is of opinion that it ſtood where the preſent *Grotta ferrata* ſtands.

We were prevented by rainy weather from

viſiting ſeveral of the famous villas in Fraſcati; and ſaw none but the *Villa Aldobrandini.* I ſhall tell you nothing of the cieling, painted by the *Cavaliere D'Arpino;* nor yet of the expenſive toys of the hydraulic art, which by ſome have been ſo much celebrated. My ſilence is inoffenſive. I looked round me, and ſcarcely retain a tranſient idea of what I ſaw.

We yeſterday paſſed through ſeveral galleries at Rome, which we had not viſited when we were there in the winter. The following pictures pleaſed me the moſt.

IN THE PALAZZO CHIGI.

A battle-piece, by Salvator Roſa. All the terror and din of battle, yet no confuſion; wildneſs of fancy, yet purity of ordonnance; great ardor, and no vacuity. The genius of Salvator in full diſplay. A painter of no genius affects wildneſs, exaggerates animation, and is more inſupportable and more falſe than inſipidity itſelf. But the painter of mind does not miſlead: he ſeizes incidents, and objects, as they actually occur; and preſents us with nature ſuch as ſhe is. He is not inflated: his heat does not ſcorch; it is now mildly warm, now glows, now beams, and, like

like the ſun, enlightens all around. This battle-piece is full of harmony. The atmoſphere has the yellow tone of a tempeſt; and blue clouds ride at a diſtance, and fly round, while hovering eagles, waiting for their prey, eye the bodies of the ſlain.

Several landſcapes, by this painter, are all ſtamped by the character of the maſter. His horizon is inflamed; and frequently the trees bend, and ſway, before the freſh breeze.

I have ſomewhere read an anecdote of Salvator Roſa, for the truth of which I will not vouch; though I think it not improbable. The tale ſays, he was fond of wine; and that, being half intoxicated, he every now and then ran to his work, and painted with great fury; leaving it after a few touches. When he was ſober, he recollected what he had done, ſuppoſed he had ſpoiled his picture, and was exceedingly grieved: but, going to examine it, he found, to his aſtoniſhment, that, during his intoxication, he had put in ſtrokes that were inimitably expreſſive.

Intoxication like this denotes much power. But happy is the man of genius, who does not derive the animating nectar from the glaſs.

Of the nectar prepared by Nature herſelf Claude

Claude Lorrain drank deeply; by whom there are five excellent landſcapes in this gallery.

A Roman Charity; and a Sleeping Cupid; both by Guido.

Julio Romano's own drawings of the Battle of Conſtantine, in the Vatican; which he painted under the inſpection of Raphael.

THE PALAZZO DORIA.

The collection of this gallery is very ample. The Romans call it *il boſco de i quadri;* or, the grove of pictures: The works of the moſt famous painters being to be found there. Here are many of the landſcapes of Gaſpard Pouſſin; and ſome of them excellent. This painter poſſeſſed much truth of drawing, but leſs of colouring. In many of his landſcapes, the tone is unnaturally clear; and in others unnaturally gloomy. He evidently affected to have a manner of his own. This is an afflicting quality; and proper only to inferiority of genius. The French are not only manneriſts but they conſider that to be ſo is a mark of greatneſs: yet they frequently fail in the thing at which they aim. Claude Lorrain, who was entirely free from this defect, muſt not be conſidered as an exception: becauſe, in his

his time, the country that gave him birth was not a province of France: he was a German.

Here likewiſe there are ſeveral beautiful landſcapes by Nicholas Pouſſin; the great hiſtorical painter.

Two landſcapes, by Dominichino: which are beautiful, and remarkable for having been painted at a time when landſcape was yet in its infancy: though hiſtory-painting had attained its prime of manhood.

The laborious finiſhing of Brüghel will excite the aſtoniſhment even of thoſe who take no pleaſure in ſuch minute yet inceſſant induſtry. There is a Paradiſe, with the creation of birds and beaſts, by him in this gallery; and his works of this kind are maſterpieces.

Pharaoh and his army, overwhelmed in the Red Sea; by Antonio Tempeſta. The veins in the marble, ſelected for the painting of this picture, repreſent the rolling of the billows.

A beautiful Holy Family; by Fra Bartolomeo.

The Sacrifice of Iſaac; by Titian.

St. Agnes, aſcending the pile to martyrdom, the faggots of which begin to burn; by Guercino.

The Virgin, kneeling at prayer before the

ſleeping

ſleeping child, Jeſus; by Guido. The colours of this beautiful picture have ſuffered from time; and, being placed among pictures of higher colouring, it did not appear to advantage.

Some portraits, by Abraham Vandyke *.

Two by Rembrandt. Great as this painter was, he yet ſuffers by the ſide of Vandyke. Rembrandt was a manneriſt. Vandyke, more than any painter, poſſeſſed the grand art of preſenting nature with the full expreſſion of life. His pictures breathed. He was likewiſe a great painter of hiſtory; and communicated to his portraits, which were always painted in perfect repoſe, the dignity of the hiſtorical character.

The father confeſſor of Reubens; by Reubens himſelf. Vandyke learned, from this his great maſter, to paint nature, with all her animation, and truth, in ſuch a manner as only the future great maſter can learn.

Holbein, and his wife: two portraits, by Holbein.

A beautiful ſmall head of a woman; likewiſe by Holbein: a very excellent picture.

* I imagine there is a miſtake; and that the great Vandyke, Anthony, is meant. Abraham Vandyke painted chiefly in England. T.

Four

Four miſers; by Albert Durer: a maſterpiece of this great man. He communicated to his ſarcaſtic caricature ſo much pure truth, and combined it with ſo deep a knowledge of character, that, bold as the traits are, you ſcarcely can call them caricature. Raphael highly venerated Albert Durer; whoſe writings, like thoſe of Leonardo da Vinci, are the code of the art.

A Flight into Egypt; by Nicholas Pouſſin: a beautiful picture; but, unfortunately for it, you ſoon afterward come to one much more beautiful, by Claude Lorrain.

Landſcapes, by Paul Brill; who was properly the father of landſcape-painting. He was remarkable for truth of expreſſion; and for his choice of the beautiful. His pictures abound in all the ſoft harmony of nature: the offences againſt which ſo frequently afflict the ſpectator, in many a famous landſcape.

The Virgin and Child, with a little John the Baptiſt, in a landſcape; by Raphael. Comparing this piece by Raphael with the pictures around it, we might exclaim, as an ancient writer once did of a young virgin,

Aliæ formoſæ, illa ipſa forma eſt.

"The reſt are beautiful, ſhe is beauty itſelf."

Perhaps

Perhaps this fine gallery, of the Palazzo Doria, has been called *il boſco de i quadri* from the many landſcapes that it contains.

In the church belonging to the Camaldoli monaſtery, of San Romoaldo, there is a famous altar-piece, an excellent picture, painted by Andrea Sacchi. Saint Romoaldo is ſeated under a tree, inſtructing three monks in their ſpiritual duties. The back-ground is allegorical. Monks of the order are ſeen climbing a ſteep mountain, on their aſcent to heaven; the light from which deſcends toward the foot of the mountain.

LETTER C.

Rome, 5th October 1792.

WE have paſſed the two preceding days among the enchanting ſcenes of Tivoli; of the far-famed caſcades of which I would rather ſend innumerable drawings than one barren deſcription.

Tivoli is ſeated on a hill; and is watered

by the river *Teverone*, which the ancients called *Anio*, *Anien*, and *Anienus*. It divided Latium from the country of the Sabines; but, though the ſtream ran through the middle of the town, it was allowed wholly to belong to Latium. The name of the town was *Tibur*; and, according to the general opinion, it was built by Tibur and Catillus: two Arcadians, who followed Evander from Greece at the time of the Trojan war. Cluverius, who is perhaps the beſt of the antiquarians of Italy, places the founding of this town three hundred years more early; and aſcribes it to the *Pelaſgi*, who were driven out of Latium by the tribe of the Siculi, that afterward gave their name to Sicily.

Tibur long continued to reſiſt Rome, in its infancy: the diſtance between them was only eighteen Italian miles.

The Teverone courſes between hills through the town; and there forms the *caſcata*: or the great water-fall. It has loſt much of its natural beauty; becauſe its bed has been deepened, partly to guard againſt its wild torrents, and partly to form mill-ſtreams. It is ſtill however very delightful.

One branch of it in particular is much more charming than the reſt; and ruſhes, thunder-

ing

ing down, through the hollows of the rock: the fantaſtic forms of which afford proſpects that are equally grand and beautiful. The over-arched cliffs are hung with maiden-hair, and covered with the vigorous vegetation of ſhrubs, and trees; which the miſts, ariſing from the daſhing waters, inceſſantly bedew.

About the middle of the caſcade is what is called the cave of Neptune; where, from rocks that are overgrown with plants, the ſtream, above and below, is heard and ſeen to ruſh, foam, and roar. High over this ſtands the circular temple of Veſta; the fallen part of which is not here viſible, while its Corinthian colonnade gives it a moſt beautiful appearance. Near this are ruins of the temple of the Sibyl, Albunea. Whether theſe remains belonged to the temple dedicated to the Sibyl is perhaps very difficult to determine: but it is known that ſhe was worſhipped here; and as Horace applies the epithet of reſounding to her name, there can be no doubt but that her temple ſtood near the waterfall.

——— *domus Albuneæ reſonantis.*

HOR. lib. i. od. vii.

——— Pure *Albunea's* far-reſounding ſource.

FRANCIS.

A con-

A conſiderable diſtance below the cavern of Neptune, which name was given it by the French painter, Vernet, there is a narrow difficult path, that leads through a vineyard; where, at every ſtep, new beauties appear; and this path goes from the waterfall to a place called the grotto of the Sirens. Compreſſed and narrowed by the hollow rocks, that are embelliſhed by every enchanting object which form and foliage can afford, the waters foam, and thunder with a din that ſeems every moment to increaſe; and, falling through the hollow cavities, they eſcape the eye the more ſecurely becauſe the edges of the rock are rendered ſlippery, by the ſpray, and will not ſuffer a near approach. If you turn to the left, you ſee the caſcade from above, daſhing downward into the grotto of Neptune, and ruſhing thence in divided ſtreams. If you ſhut your eyes for a moment, in order to open them with the greater determination, you are but the more ſtunned by the roaring of the falling waters: the ear being then only employed.

Grand however as the roar of theſe waters is, and ſublime as is this ſcenery, they muſt not be compared to the more grand, the more ſublime, fall of the Rhine, at *Lauffen*; where

terror and ecſtacy omnipotently ſeize on the ſtunned, dazzled, and amazed, ſpectator. Not but the fantaſtic forms of the round and hollowed rocks communicate to this waterfall at Tivoli a milder terror, a more ſacred gloom, and charms that are all its own.

There is a pleaſant walk, which leads from the heights of the town through a ſmiling valley; that ſeparates them from oppoſite heights, where the hills are ornamented with very large old olive trees. Here, at a place in the neighbourhood of a monaſtery, there are ruins which are ſaid to have belonged to the country-houſe of Horace. Though our friend Horace appears to have preferred his more ſolitary Sabine country-ſeat, ſtill it is certain he had a houſe at this place. We are expreſsly told this in the ſhort account which Suetonius has given us of the poet. Beſide, with what affection does he frequently ſpeak of Tibur! In his beautiful Ode to Melpomene, he tells us that theſe waters, and the thick foliage of theſe groves, ſhould form the lyric poet.

Sed quæ Tibur aquæ fertile præfluunt,
Et ſpiſſæ nemorum comæ,
Fingent Æolio carmine nobilem.

HOR. lib. iv. od. iii.

But

But him, the ſtreams which warbling flow
Rich Tibur's fertile vales along,
And ſhady groves, his haunts, ſhall know,
The maſter of the Æolian ſong.

And in another Ode, where the poet proves himſelf ſo ſincere a friend, and ſo capable of enjoying the charms of nature, he wiſhes to end his life in Tibur.

Tibur Argæo poſitum colono
Sit mihi ſedes utinam ſenectæ;
Sit modus laſſo maris, et viarum,
Militiæque.

HOR. lib. ii. od. vi.

May Tibur, to my lateſt hours,
Afford a kind and calm retreat;
Tibur, beneath whoſe lofty towers
The Grecians fix'd their bliſsful ſeat;
There may my labours end, my wand'rings ceaſe,
There all my toils of warfare reſt in peace!

FRANCIS.

From the olive groves of theſe hills, you ſee the caſcade right before you; which, in compariſon with the great waterfall, or the *caſcata*, is called *caſcatelle maggiori:* or, the chief of the little waterfalls.

The ſtream here divides into two branches, that form a tongue of land; and by this land

they are ſtill kept ſeparate when they fall down into the valley; by this variety they produce a caſcade of enchanting beauty. Theſe ſmall arms, now purling, now pouring, join at laſt in one grand current; that winds along the valley.

Not far from this are the leſſer caſcades: or the *caſcatelle piccole.* They are only called little comparatively; for they actually conſiſt of great waterfalls.

Above theſe are the large remains of the prodigious villa of Mæcenas. This villa, through which the arms of the waterfall ruſh, we viſited in the evening; and felt a pleaſure in recollecting that here, in this very houſe, Horace frequently, and Virgil not ſeldom, firſt read their immortal works to the friends of poetry. A boy, in an apple tree, plucking the ripe fruit from trees that were planted below in the fertile valley, reminded me of the orchards which Horace ſung: that were bathed by the fleeting rivulets:

——— *mobilibus pomaria rivis.*

And fruitful orchards, bathed by ductile ſtreams.

FRANCIS.

The wine of Tivoli is very pleaſant. Horace

race was right in adviſing his friend to plant the vine here, in preference to all other trees.

Nullam, Vare, ſacra vite prius ſeveris arborem
Circa mite ſolum Tiburis et mœnia Catili.

Round Catillus' walls, or in Tibur's rich ſoil,
To plant the glad vine be my Varus' firſt toil.
FRANCIS.

Large foundations are ſtill remaining, oppoſite to the *caſcatelle piccole* and the villa of Mæcenas, which are ſuppoſed to have belonged to the villa of Quinctilius Varus; facing which alſo the *præceps Anio*, or headlong Anio, as Horace calls it, flows.

From one point of view, you may overlook the *caſcatelle maggiori* and the *caſcatelle piccole*.

There is a ſmall round temple not far from the villa of Mæcenas, which is called *il tempio della Toſſe :* the temple of the goddeſs *Tuſſis* *. The credulous Romans, who erected a temple to the goddeſs *Mephitis*, whom they likewiſe called *Graveolentia*, may equally have perſonified and worſhipped this diſeaſe as a goddeſs: hoping thus to eſcape her anger. The little temple is circular, and has a hemiſphe-

* *Tuſſis* ſignifies a cough.

rical cupola, which has an opening at the top. This form is in itſelf pleaſant ; and the numerous ſhrubs that grow round the old cupola give it a very charming appearance.

In the ſmall inconſiderable town, there are the high remains of the wall of a temple ; probably of that which was dedicated to Hercules, and which was famous in Latium.

There is likewiſe a ſection of one of the town gates of the ancient Tibur ſtill ſtanding ; and moſaic plaiſter is ſtill preſerved, in a little ſtreet.

Near the town is the *Villa d'Eſte ;* which was built about the middle of the ſixteenth century, by Cardinal *Ippolito d'Eſte ;* and now belongs to the Duke of Modena, the laſt male branch of this famous family. The building is large, but it is beginning to decay. The garden was laid out by the celebrated *Le Notre ;* who introduced the French taſte in the art of gardening through all Europe, during the laſt century. Tall pines, plane-trees, and the largeſt cypreſs trees I ever ſaw, ſtill embelliſh this garden ; and muſt have been planted by *Le Notre.*

You know that the French, having ſome years ago become weary of their inſipid gar-

dens, began to change them into Engliſh parks. But they did not ſtop there. Having no feeling of ſimplicity, or of the ſerious Engliſh character, gloomy as it appeared to them, they ſtill were willing to exceed it: for which reaſon, as I have been told by an eye witneſs, they have planted dead trees in the beautiful gardens of *Ermenonville: pour inſpirer la philoſophie* * *!* A true picture of their preſent philoſophy; and of the morals of their atheiſts, who already compare Rouſſeau to a tree without root, or fruit.

Brutus and Caſſius had villas at Tivoli; the great remains of which we viſited. Their grandeur affords an idea of the luxury of the Romans in thoſe times; when men, who deſervedly are called the laſt of the Romans, inhabited ſuch prodigious palaces.

Theſe two brothers-in-law, friends, and chiefs of the conſpiracy againſt the tyrant, lived a quarter of a league diſtant from each other. Beneath theſe ſhady walks they probably converſed of the great events of the Roman world. In this country-ſeat, the noble Brutus frequently perhaps retired from his cares, to enjoy the ſociety of his Portia, and

* To inſpire philoſophy.

his friends; and to hold ſweet intercourſe with the mighty dead. Here he could delight himſelf with the beautiful proſpect; and well might turn his eye from the duſty plains of Rome, that he might view the woody mountains of *Tuſculum*, on the left; or the hills that lie on the right: beyond which the high *Soracte* riſes.

I was much leſs intereſted by the vaſt remains of the villa of Adrian. Much may ſtill be ſeen of a theatre: but I cannot conjecture the uſe of a ſpacious circular place, ſurrounded by a lofty wall.

In Italy, the dubious ruins of antiquity are daringly pronounced upon. They call this place the *Naumachia*. It is true there are traces of ſeats, for ſpectators; and niches over them, on which it is probable that ſtatues were placed. Others ſuppoſe this to have been an amphitheatre; and I ſhould be ſurpriſed if a grand imperial villa had been built and left unprovided with a place for the ſanguinary ſpectacle of combats between wild beaſts, and the conflicts of more murderous men. But the ruins of walls within the place are a proof that it was neither intended for a *naumachia* nor for an amphitheatre.

A much

A much greater place was probably appropriated to racing, or to a riding-houſe: or, if not, it might ſerve for the exerciſing of the Prætorian guard.

Our all-wiſe antiquarians have not ſuffered the ruins of temples that ſtand here to continue undeſcribed. They can tell us in which tribune, or half rotunda, which likewiſe had the name of *Schola*, the Stoics, or the Platoniſts, held diſcourſe.

For my own part, I think it impoſſible to know the uſe of each of theſe diviſions: eſpecially in a building in which Adrian was deſirous of collecting all that had chiefly delighted him in Greece, Aſia, and Egypt. Adrian; a man of underſtanding, but full of fantaſtic whims.

I thought the large ruins of a building more remarkable, which, according to the inequality of the ground on which it ſtood, conſiſted ſometimes of two and ſometimes of three ſtories. The general opinion, that it was inhabited by the Prætorian Cohort, which ſerved as the body guard, I conſider as indubitable. It is divided into high chambers; each of which is nine paces long, and ſeven broad. Openings between them have been

made,

made, in modern times: though formerly theſe chambers had no interior communication with each other. The windows muſt have ſerved them for doors; and, as there was a moat dug on that ſide of the building which had windows, the ſoldiers could only leave the lower ſtory by paſſing over a bridge; and the upper by deſcending a ladder. It is probable that they were draw-bridges; and that the ladders were placed at ſtated times. Unfortunate ages! In which an Emperor like Adrian, who was not a tyrant, the ſucceſſor of the meritorious Trajan, who had been preceded by the good Nerva, was obliged to take precautions ſo gloomy!

The walls of theſe houſes for the ſoldiers are doubled: ſo that there is a ſmall ſpace between them, affording a paſſage to the air. This was a very rational precaution; and deſerves to be imitated in our country, where the humidity of the air is ſo frequently noxious.

The hills round Tivoli are chiefly covered with olive trees: though other trees are found among them, the various and verdant foliage of which refreſhes the eye. Among them, we chiefly meet with the *cercis ſiliquaſtrum*:

or

or Judas tree: on which I found, at the ſame time, the ripe ſeed and the beautiful red flower in bloom. I met with different plants which I had ſeen no where elſe: the ſeeds of which I have collected. It will give me great ſatisfaction if ſome of the many ſeeds that I ſhall bring home with me ſhould hereafter proſper in Germany. My ſon found ſome ripe ſeeds of the caper; with the beautiful bloom of which I hope to make you acquainted. This ſeed is but ſeldom met with, becauſe the buds are ſo carefully plucked.

LETTER CI.

Rome, 8th October 1792.

IN the church called *Trinita de i Monti*, there is an excellent painting in freſco, by Danielle di Volterra; the ſubject of which is the deſcent of Chriſt from the croſs. It is thought to be one of the moſt famous paintings in the world, and is truly of extraordinary

ordinary beauty: particularly the Virgin in a ſwoon, though perhaps ſhe looks rather too much as if ſhe were dead, and the beautiful group of the weeping women. Still I confeſs that the deſcent from the croſs in oil colours, by the ſame great maſter, which is in the poſſeſſion of Angelica Kauffman, appears to me of even higher excellence. It is aſtoniſhingly well preſerved; and, by the mere aid of a good varniſh, looks as freſh and as youthful as if it had juſt been taken from the eaſel of the painter.

Of all the Italian artiſts of the preſent age, Canova, a Venetian, now living at Rome, is the man who beſt maintains the fame of Roman art. I know no ſculptor whoſe works ſo nearly approach the great maſter-pieces of antiquity; and willingly acknowledge that I prefer ſome of his performances to the admired ſtatues of Michael Angelo. To uncommon aſſiduity he unites uncommon genius; and boldneſs of conception with the rare gift of ſeizing nature, pure as ſhe is, in her moſt ſignificant attitudes, and moſt perfect forms. He is thirty-three years of age; and his character, by all who know him, is allowed to be dignified,

nified, and amiable. The monuments of the two laſt Popes, *Rezzonico* and *Ganganelli*, are both by his hand.

I ſaw many plaiſter models by him, in his workſhop, and marble ſtatues; ſome begun, and ſome finiſhed. I thought a group of Dædalus and Icarus uncommonly beautiful. Dædalus has begun to faſten the wings on the ſhoulders of his ſon: while the boy turns his head and looks at them, with the joyful pleaſure of youthful impatience. The father conſiders his work, with an air that is equally expreſſive of the penetrating eye of the artiſt and the anxiety of the father. Feelings like theſe appear to me much more difficult to convey than thoſe of violent paſſion: eſpecially becauſe, in the latter, it will be more eaſy for the artiſt to deceive in proportion as it is difficult to know what is the exact truth. This excellent group was a performance of Canova before he was eighteen.

The monument of Pope Rezzonico, by him, in St. Peter's church, is lately completed; and eclipſes every other monument of the Popes, in this church.

In the church of St. Jerome, there is a picture by Dominichino; which is ſuppoſed

to

to be one of the beſt in Rome. The ſubject is St. Jerome, adminiſtering the ſacrament to a dying perſon. A young man ſtands behind the ſaint, with a chalice; and a youth, at the back of the dying perſon, in deep and ſincere affliction. Several other countenances, and attitudes, denote varieties of grief or of devotion. The dying man appears to collect his remaining powers for this ſolemn moment; and the countenance of St. Jerome teſtifies pure love, and dignified ſanctity. Of the ſurrounding perſons he has no knowledge. His thoughts are fixed on God, and on the penitent; whom, in the pangs of death, he wiſhes to prepare for his entrance into eternity.

Nicholas Pouſſin uſed to ſay that the Transfiguration of Chriſt, by Raphael, this St. Jerome, by Dominichino, and the Deſcent from the croſs, by Volterra, were the moſt beautiful of all pictures *. Pouſſin was accuſtomed to call Dominichino ſimply THE PAINTER.

* Not that Deſcent from the croſs which is now in the church of *Trinita de i Monti*; but the other, in oil colours, which uſed to hang in the refectory of the monaſtery near the Place *del Popolo*, and which now is in the poſſeſſion of Angelica Kauffmann.

This

This epithet properly belongs to none ſo truly as to Raphael. He may be called THE PAINTER: as the Greeks frequently called Homer THE POET.

The ceiling of a hall of the *Palazzo Farneſe* is painted by Annibal Caracci; and the ſubjects are entirely mythological. It is excellently painted; and with that power which characterized this artiſt: from whom however we muſt not expect the breathing ſoul of Dominichino, and ſtill leſs of Raphael. Caracci was eight years in completing this famous work; for which the proprietor paid him by the ell. It is ſaid that the chagrin which this gave him occaſioned the death of the painter.

In the *Villa Doria* there is a ſmall houſe, which Raphael uſed frequently to inhabit in ſummer, on the ceiling of the great chamber of which there are ſome paintings, and light arabeſc ornaments on the walls: all by the playful ſportive not to be miſtaken hand of the maſter.

The preſent poſſeſſor of the garden of this villa has intended to lay it out in the manner of the Engliſh; and we are indebted to him for a variety of plants and ſhrubs, and for many ſpacious walks ſheltered by the branching

ing unlopped trees: but falſe taſte frequently offends the eye of thoſe who neither love a flaming Veſuvius in miniature, nor any other fantaſtic and no leſs childiſh imitations.

Even in the beautiful garden of the *Villa Borgheſe* there are novelties which I diſlike. Among others, there is a ſmall farm which has the form and air of a fortreſs, on the door of which is the inſcription *Otia tuta:* Leiſure, or rather Idleneſs, ſecure. Security in a fortreſs is dubious. Idleneſs is not the characteriſtic of the place: nor is a garden its proper ſituation.

A ſmall newly erected ruin is equally diſpleaſing. Are there not enough of actual ruins in Rome? Or ſhould a deception of walls tumbling down ſuggeſt painful aſſociations to a man who is taking a contemplative walk?

In the *Villa Panfili*, there is a ſpacious pleaſing verdant plot of ground, ſurrounded by tall pines and containing a whole grove of theſe trees. I never ſaw more beautiful weeping-willows than there are near a pool, in this villa.

We have viſited our good countryman, Trippel, in his workſhop. I ſay our countryman:

man: for where is the worthy German who does not think it an honour to him that the Swiſs are likewiſe Germans?

Trippel is highly eſteemed in Rome. Among other grand works of this great ſtatuary, I was particularly pleaſed with a Milo; repreſented at the moment when his left arm is impriſoned in the cleft of the tree, while with his right he is defending himſelf againſt an aſſaulting lion. It were to be wiſhed that the artiſt would execute this ſubject in large. Few ideas, in my mind, are capable of ſuch bold and dignified expreſſion as that of a man, who, as we are told by hiſtory, was not only an athletic wreſtler but a great general, exhibited at the moment when he combats a lion with one arm, while aſſaulted by the pain which the quick cloſing of a tree, cruſhing his other, muſt inflict.

Gmelin, a German, to an ardent love of nature, and a fine taſte for ſelecting the beautiful, adds the gift of excellently expreſſing his thoughts. He has viſited many of the moſt charming countries of Italy; eſpecially of the kingdom of Naples; which he has drawn, and in part engraved. He annually publiſhes a certain number of theſe engrav-

ings; and thus brings many of the friends of nature acquainted with the grand features of Italy. His talents do him much honour; and his worth and conduct in life ſtill more.

LETTER CII.

Loretto, 12th October 1792.

WE left Rome early on the 9th of October; and came in the forenoon to the former territories of the *Veientes*, whoſe chief city was *Veii:* which, after a ten years ſiege, was taken by the great Camillus; who became ſtill more celebrated afterward, by his victory over the Gauls that beſieged the Capitol.

We then paſſed through *Civita Caſtellana:* the ancient *Faliſcum:* which was beſieged by the ſame general. A ſchool-maſter, who hoped to make his fortune by treachery, frequently led the principal youths of the *Faliſci* out of the town; under the pretext of taking them to walk: and in this manner, at laſt, de-

delivered them up to the Romans. But Camillus disdained such a conquest. He tied the hands of the traitor behind him, gave each of the boys a rod, and thus drove him back into the town. Moved by the heroic action of the Roman, the *Falisci* surrendered to Camillus *.

Nepete, through which we shortly afterward passed, belonged to *Falisçum*. It is now called *Nepi*. The *Veientes* and the *Falisci* were Etrurian tribes: for ancient Etruria extended much farther, toward the south, than modern Tuscany does.

About forty Italian miles from Rome, we left the mountain called *San Silvestro*, the ancient *Soracte*, which we had seen from Rome, behind us on the right. Though it is not very lofty, it is seen to a great distance; because from there to Rome there is a continual declivity: nor is it connected with the other mountains, which here terminate the horizon, but stands detached. It rises on each side like the lower section of a pyramid, is craggy on the top, and has a resemblance in its form to Epomeo, and Mount Vesuvius. On the side that we passed there is a deep rocky valley, which resembles the bed of a crater. These

* Liv. v. 27.

marks lead me to ſuſpect that *San Silveſtro*, in remote ages, was a volcano. The country is pleaſant, and is covered with flocks of an excellent kind of large ſheep: but, as far as I could judge at this ſeaſon of the year, the lands appear to be ill-cultivated.

Otricoli, and *Narni*, are two ancient towns; that were called *Ocriculum*, and *Narnia;* and both belonged to the *Umbri*. Narnia took its name from the river *Nar;* called by the modern Italians *Nera*, and *Negro*. It runs below the town, the ſituation of which is high. Immediately facing the town, there are the large remains of a great ſtone bridge; one entire arch of which, on the ſide next Narni, is ſtill ſtanding. Oppoſite to this is a half arch; and large remains of pillars in the river.

The ſtream meanders through the ſmiling plain; which is encircled and over-topped by the woody Apennines. Looking through the ſtanding arch of the ancient bridge, which was the work of Auguſtus, you have a view of a half-dark valley, that is ſituated between the neighbouring mountains. On the right, there is a modern humble bridge; which, by its contraſt with the ruins of its predeceſſor, is picturesque. Poplars and other trees, round which

which the vine throws its tendrils, flouriſh in the plain.

We paſſed through this valley on our road to Terni; where, in the market, we met with two muſicians: one of whom played on a mandoline, and the other on the ſyrinx of the ancients: ſuch as we find it deſcribed by the Poets. We likewiſe ſee it on antique ſtatues, and *baſſi relievi.* It was the inſtrument of ſhepherds, of Satyrs, Fauns, Pan, and the Cyclops Polyphemus. The difference that I remarked between the ancient and the modern ſyrinx is that the former conſiſted of nine pipes, of unequal length; which generally were cemented together by wax; and the latter of twenty-ſix, which were tied to each other with threads. The largeſt of theſe tubes might be about ſix inches long; and the ſmalleſt ſcarcely an inch. At a certain diſtance, the accompaniment of the ſyrinx to the mandoline was not amiſs: but more near it was harſh, and offenſive.

Terni is the ancient *Interamna;* and was the birth-place of the great hiſtorian Tacitus.

We hired little carriages, to viſit the famous waterfall near Terni; which is called

by the inhabitants of the country *La caduta delle Marmori.* It is the water of the river *Velino:* which forms a lake, and again purſuing its courſe falls into the Nera. The road to the waterfall is cut in the rocky mountain. The whole country much reſembles Switzerland: except that the tall vine, and the olive tree round which it twines, are tokens of the milder climate of Italy. The mountains are wild and fantaſtic, yet friendly in their wildneſs; and the deep valley, through which the Nera ſtreams, noiſy after its fall, has ſo many charms that the attention is frequently turned from the grand ſpectacle of the caſcade itſelf.

The water falls thundering among the rocks that are overſpread with foliage; and its fall is deeper than either the caſcade of Tivoli or the fall of the Rhine at Laufen: but the latter is more grand in its breadth, more impetuous in its plenitude, more ſurging, miſty, and thundering, than either of theſe of Italy. The peculiar beauty of this waterfall, at Terni, is derived from the uncommon charms of the country. A few hundred paces from the fall, there is a ſmall bye way; that leads among high walls of rock, immediately to where the im-

impetuous ſtream is tumbling. This broad deep fall is the largeſt in Italy; and, if I am not miſtaken, the ſecond in Europe.

Cicero informs us that M. Curius Dentatus, after he had conquered the Sabines, widened the bed of the river, in order to dry up the marſhes in the neighbourhood of the river Velinus. Theſe marſhes were called, after the little town of *Reate*, the *Reatinæ paludes:* or marſhes of *Reate*. The river Velinus derives its name from the Greek word *hele:* τὰ ἕλη: which ſignifies marſhes. The goddeſs *Velia*, the ancient Goddeſs of theſe marſhes, had a temple and a grove dedicated to her, in the triangle which is formed by the junction of the two rivers.

The lake of Velinus, from the Latin word *lucus*, a conſecrated grove, is now called *Lago pié di luco:* the lake at the foot of the grove.

Theſe mountains are clothed with varieties of trees, ſhrubs, and plants; and here, as at the foot of the mountain Bochetta, near Genoa, we ſaw the beech tree growing wild.

The whole way from Terni to Spoleto is among the woody Apennines; which decline immediately as you approach Spoleto; and the country is univerſally of the higheſt beaut

The kind of oak which the ancients called *æſculus*, and which Linnæus names the *quercus æſculus*, here attains a ſuperior growth. The bark is dark-coloured, a little ſcaly like our oak, and the leaf is leſs. Its ancient name, *æſculus*, is no doubt a corruption of the word *eſculentus*: or eatable. It was natural for the ancients to call the tree *quercus eſculentus*, the fruit of which was far leſs acrid than our acorn; and which is ſtill eaten, in many parts of Italy, by the common people: who roaſt it in oil. It is alſo highly probable that this is the Chaonian acorn, which the Greeks tell us was the food of the firſt men. In remote ages, before agriculture was underſtood, the inhabitants of Greece and Italy may have preferred this to other wild fruits.

Terni contains about nine thouſand, and Spoleto twelve thouſand, inhabitants. Spoleto early became a Roman colony; and in ancient times was called *Spoletium*. After the victory of the lake of Thraſymene, Hannibal attacked the town; but was driven back with conſiderable loſs by the inhabitants: from which, according to the remark of Livy*, he concluded how difficult an un-

* Liv. xxii. 9.

der-

dertaking it would be to ſeize on Rome; ſince one of its colonies was capable of ſo much reſiſtance.

In commemoration of this fortunate defence, one of the gates of the town has preſerved the name of *La Fuga:* or the Flight.

The duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, although the laſt is ſituated much more to the ſouth, between Avellino and Capua, were governed in the middle ages by the ſame Princes, whoſe names are not unknown to hiſtory.

There is a large and celebrated bridge at Spoleto; of which it is doubted whether it were the work of the Romans or of the Goths: but we did not ſee it, for night approached as we entered the town.

This doubt makes it probable to me that it was built by ſome King of the Goths. A Roman work would not be overclouded by the doubts of ſilence. Italy is indebted to the Goths for many great works, many noble inſtitutions, and the revival of agriculture; which, from the vices of the Romans and the luxury of their chiefs, had begun to decay in the times even of the Republic; when the

the country-ſeats and gardens of their debauched and inſatiable grandees left but little land for the plough. The devaſtations committed by the Triumviri, and the political generoſity of the tyrants, who ſupplied the Roman people with corn from Sicily, Egypt, and the provinces of Africa, gave agriculture its laſt blow. The thanks of Italy are ſtill more deeply due to the Goths for returning calm and chaſtity of manners. We have often been led to conſider them as barbarians; but I am of the opinion of a modern writer, who tells us that the time in which the Goths governed Italy was one of the moſt happy epochas of this country.

The temple of the Clitumnian Jupiter ſtood between Spoleto and Foligno, near the river *Clitumnus*, the modern *Clitonno*, in a very charming country.

It was the opinion of the ancients that the water of this river poſſeſſed the quality of making the cattle that fed on its banks white. Virgil, in his beautiful eulogium on Italy, ſays,

Hinc bellator equus campo ſeſe arduus infert;
Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, et maxima taurus
Victima

Victima, ſæpe tuo perfuſi flumine ſacro,
Romanos ad templa Deûm duxêre triumphos *.

VIRG. Georg. ii. 145.

The warrior horſe here bred, is taught to train:
There flows Clitumnus through the flow'ry plain;
Whoſe waves, for triumphs after proſp'rous war,
The victim ox, and ſnowy ſheep prepare.

DRYDEN, v. 200.

At *Foligni*, formerly *Fulginium*, an ancient town of the *Umbri*, we ſaw a ſuperb picture, by Raphael, at the cloiſter of St. Ann; belonging to the Franciſcan Nuns. The Holy Virgin and the Divine Infant are ſuſpended in the clouds. The Mother and the Child are both full of thoſe heavenly graces which Raphael, and Raphael only, knew how to beſtow. John the Baptiſt ſtands below on the right; and Saint Francis of *Aſſiſium* kneels by his ſide. Saint Jerome is on the left, and lays his left hand on the man for whom Raphael painted the picture; who kneels. This man, and the two Saints, are praying to the Child; each with a diverſified expreſſion of ardent piety. John the Baptiſt raiſes his right arm,

* I cannot forbear to remind my young readers of that pomp of harmony, which is ſo conſpicuous in this line:

Rōmānōs ād tēmplă dĕūm dūxērĕ trĭūmphōs.

and

and appears to preach with animation; an angel ſtands in the middle, in the form of a young winged boy, holding a ſcroll in his hand. This was probably the portrait of one of the children of the owner of the picture; and may be repreſented as having inſcribed the names of his father and the ſaints in the book of life. I can conceive no other uſe for the ſcroll.

The road from Foligni to Loretto is delightful, by the numerous beauties of the landſcapes it affords; and we paſſed four poſt-houſes, at which we changed horſes, among the Apennines: the heights of which are here covered with trees of various kinds, and eſpecially with large oaks. In the deep valleys, we ſee the freſh verdure of paſtures and meadows, gardens, arable lands, tall vine plants, and olive trees. Rivers and brooks waſh the mountains, hurry down the rocks, and form caſcades: particularly in a delightful valley, that lies between Foligni and Caſe Nore. A part of the province of *Marca d'Ancona*, the ancient *Picenum*, is very like the province of Ombria: but, after you have aſcended the eaſt ſide of the Apennines, the country then opens; though it is not flat, but hilly.

The

The *Marca d'Ancona* is well inhabited; and the lands are induſtriouſly cultivated. Thoſe travellers, who complain ſo heavily of the bad agriculture of the States of the Church, appear only to have ſeen the *Campagna di Roma*, and the ſtretch of country between Rome and the Tuſcan territories, on the road to Florence.

A ſhort German mile from Loretto, we paſſed through Recanati: a handſome little town that is built on a hill, and in which the Biſhop of Loretto reſides ſix months in the year. The Council-houſe of Recanati is embelliſhed with a large and beautiful baſſo relievo, of bronze; repreſenting the Virgin and Child.

Loretto, a town containing eight thouſand inhabitants, owes its origin to the *ſanta caſa*, or holy houſe: which, as pious tradition relates, was the ſame in which the angel Gabriel appeared to the Virgin, and in which, after the return of Mary and Joſeph from Egypt, Chriſt continued to live till he entered on his heavenly miſſion. We are told by the legend that, in the year 1291, the angels carried this houſe from Nazareth to Sclavonia; and, in the year 1294, they took it from Sclavonia,

brought it over the Adriatic, and ſet it down at Loretto. It now ſtands in the principal church, encaſed in marble: on which hiſtories from Holy Writ, by the greateſt artiſts, are maſterly cut in *alto relievo*.

In this Santa Caſa, the ſuppoſed miraculous image of the Virgin, a porringer, out of which Chriſt uſed to eat when he was a child, and a gown of his mother's, are exhibited.

This Holy Houſe and the miraculous image bring pilgrims from the whole Catholic world, to pay their homage at Loretto; many of whom go round the Holy Houſe on their knees: ſo that the knees of the pilgrims have made deep hollows in the ſtone pavement of the church.

There are ſome beautiful pictures, in a ſacriſty belonging to the church; one of which, the *Scuola delle Virgini*, or School of the Virgins, by Guido, is very excellent. Mary is ſeated, ſurrounded by young virgins; whom ſhe is inſtructing in female duties.

A Saint Francis, by Barocci, is a very good picture: by whom there are ſeveral other paintings here.

The famous treaſure of Loretto is preſerved in a great hall; and contains numberleſs coſtly

coſtly works, and preſents, from private perſons, Kings, and States. Among the jewels, the preſent made by a young Lord of Raguſa is conſpicuous: which is no other than his own ſweetly-ſmiling handſomely-framed face, painted in miniature.

A picture, by the immortal Raphael, appears to me to be the greateſt ornament of the treaſury. The Virgin is about to cover the Child Jeſus with a veil; on whom ſhe looks, with inexpreſſible reverence and affection. The Child lies on his back, ſmiling with devout benevolence, and affectionately ſtretches out both his arms to his Mother. Joſeph ſtands behind Mary; full of mild but ſerious reflection.

In the *Palazzo de gli Apoſtoli*, in which Popes, Cardinals, and Princes, who come to viſit Loretto, are entertained at the expence of the Santa Caſa, there is a little picture, by Raphael, the ſubject of which is John the Baptiſt. In this picture, John has the ſame attitude that was given him by Raphael in another of a larger ſize; of which ſeveral copies have been made. One of theſe copies is in Florence, another in Rome, a third in Bologna, and a fourth made a part of the late

collection of the Duke of Orleans: who has assumed the name of Egalité *: and which of these four is the original is now disputed.

A Night-piece, by Gerardo della Notte, possesses much picturesque merit.

In the dispensary of Loretto, which appertains to the Santa Casa, there are three hundred and thirty vases of Faenza shewn; the paintings on which are by Julio Romano, and Rafaellino della villa, after designs by the great Raphael: whose genius we recognize, on these earthen vessels. Let those, who can admire nothing but the antique, vent their raptures concerning the vases of Greece: I would give a whole collection of such antiquities, did I possess them, for one of these vases, embellished by Raphael.

All the poor of Loretto are provided with medicines gratis, from this dispensary.

The annual revenue of the Santa Casa is estimated at seventy thousand *scudi*; and its annual expenditure at not less than forty thousand: from which the Bishop, the *Canonici*, or Canons, and the Governor of the town are paid.

Loretto is only half a German mile from

* This letter was written in 1792. T.

the

the Adriatic; which may be ſeen from the *Palazzo Apoſtolico*, as may likewiſe a beautiful proſpect on the land ſide. Fortreſſes protect the town againſt pirates; and the ſhallowneſs of the ſea-ſhore will not ſuffer the approach of large ſhips.

LETTER CIII.

Venice, 19th October, 1792.

THE fruitful plain, between Loretto and the ſea, is excellently tilled by the peaſants, who are ſubject to the Santa Caſa, and who live in ſcattered houſes. The hilly country, between Loretto and Ancona, is likewiſe both fertile and pleaſant. This town is built on the hills *San Ciriaco* and *Monte Guaſco*, and in the valley that lies between them. The *Monte Guaſco*, which projects into the ſea, was called by the ancients the Promontory of *Cumerum*. Ancona was a ſettlement of the fugitive Syracuſians; who, in the time of the elder Dionyſius, deteſting the

tyrant, made a deſcent at this place. They called the town *Ancon*, Ἀγκων, from its angular ſituation: this word ſignifying an elbow.

The haven, which Nature has formed, is rendered ſecure by a long *molo*: or ſtone-pier. The town is handſomely built; and, as it is a free port, the inhabitants enjoy a reſpectable and viſible proſperity. Büſching ſtates its population at twenty-two thouſand ſouls: of whom he eſtimates the Jews at five thouſand. According to an ancient degrading law, the Jews are to wear a red rag, or lappet, hanging from the hat: but it is not enforced; and, as, like the Portugueze Jews, they wear no beard, they are only diſtinguiſhed from the Chriſtians by their national phyſiognomy: which ſtill continues to characterize them, though they have now been ſcattered above ſeventeen hundred years over the nations of the earth. They only ſuffer their beards to grow for eighty days, when they are under any deep affliction.

A part of the lower town was deſtroyed by the Goths, but rebuilt again by Narſes. Ancona was ravaged in the tenth century, by the Saracens. Pope Pius the Second, who ſat in the Papal chair from the year 1458 to 1464,

1464, repaired the haven. All religions are tolerated in the town. Its trade continues to increaſe, and is of ſome injury to Venice. It is likewiſe enriched by the bleaching of wax.

The Exchange of Ancona has a reſpectable appearance. In the great place, or ſquare, there is a ſtone ſtatue of the preſent Pope, Pius the Sixth, of bad workmanſhip. The viſible proſperity of the town and the whole province, which appears from the many new and well-built houſes, and the excellent high roads that are the work of the Pope, are proofs that he deſerves this public teſtimony of affection.

There is a beautiful triumphal arch of marble, on the *molo;* which was erected to Trajan, in the year 112.

The road from Ancona leads through a pleaſant country, on the ſhores of the Adriatic; and paſſes through ſeveral towns. Senigaglia was built by the Gauls. The buildings are good, and the fair it holds, to which traders reſort from moſt parts of Italy, contributes reſpectably to its ſupport.

About four Italian miles before we came to Fano, we paſſed the river *Metaro:* the *Me-*

taurus of the ancients: or, as Horace calls it, the *Metaurum*. On the banks of this river, the Carthaginians ſuffered the famous defeat in which their General, Aſdrubal, who, like his brother, Hannibal, had marched over the Alps, to the aid of the latter, loſt his life. By this battle, the fate of Carthage, and of Rome, appears to have been determined.

In Roman times, *Fano* was called *Fanum Fortunæ:* becauſe here there was a temple to *Fortuna*.

Peſaro, the ancient *Piſaurum*, is ſituated like both the above towns, in the duchy of Urbino. This was the native province of Raphael; who was called Rafaelle d'Urbino, from the town in which he was born. In the year of Rome 568, 184 years before Chriſt, the Romans ſent a colony to *Piſaurum*. The river on which it was built was formerly called the *Piſaurus:* now *La Foglia*. The town is ſituated on the ſea ſhore: but its port will only admit ſmall craft; and conſequently it has but little trade. As the Cardinal Legate however of the duchy of Urbino, and about fifty noble families, make it their place of reſidence, Peſaro preſerves a reſpect-

reſpectable appearance, is well built, and, according to a late eſtimate, contains ten thouſand five hundred inhabitants.

The province of Romagna begins at Catolica: which is the firſt poſt after Peſaro. In ancient times, it conſtituted a part of Umbria. Catolica was ſo called from the Catholic Biſhops, who met at this place, at the time that the Council was held in Rimini, in the year 359, becauſe they were diſſatisfied with that aſſembly; in which it had at firſt appeared as if the Arians would have maintained the ſuperiority. As this Council was called by the Emperor Conſtans, who favoured the Arians, four hundred biſhops came to it from the weſt: who, contrary to the hopes of the Emperor, declared in favour of the creed of the Council of Nice.

Rimini was formerly called *Ariminum;* and its founding is aſcribed to the Umbri, a people of uncertain origin. The Senones, a tribe of the Gauls, were once in poſſeſſion of it: but in the year of Rome 463, or 289 years before Chriſt, they were expelled by the northern Umbri. In the year of Rome 485, or 267 before Chriſt, the Romans ſent a colony to *Ariminum.* When the three laſt Triumvirs,

Antony, Octavianus, and Lepidus, ſhared eighteen Italian towns with their territories like conquered lands among their ſoldiers, Octavianus ſent a new colony here. Whether the great marble bridge, over the river *Ariminus*, which is now called *Marecchia*, and which flows before the town, was built by him, or by his ſucceſſor Tiberius, is uncertain: but it ſtill is paſſable, and is a great work. Beyond the town there is a triumphal arch; that was erected to Auguſtus, as the founder of the colony.

On the road between Catolica and Rimini, we ſaw the little town of San Marino; ſituated high upon a mountain, on our left. This ſmall free ſtate would be more celebrated than great nations, were virtue and innocence, rather than the ſplendour of vice, the admiration of men. Like the little Swiſs Republic of Gerſau, its whole poſſeſſions conſiſt of a ſingle mountain. The diameter of its territory is a German mile. A builder, who came from Dalmatia in the beginning of the ſixth century, continued to labour thirty years at the rebuilding of Rimini: after which he retired, and lived as a hermit on this mountain. But, greatly as he deſired repoſe, the fame of his

ſanctity attracted young people to him, and a Princeſs gave him the mountain as a preſent, on which he here founded a little free State.

As the reſidence of its citizens was founded on a rock, ſo did he lay the baſis of his artleſs dignified code on the Evangeliſts. The Conſtitution of the Republic is very ſimple. Each houſe ſends a deputy to the great aſſembly of the citizens. The Executive Power reſides in the Council of Sixty; one half of which is choſen from the Nobles. A majority of two-thirds is required, before a concluſive vote can paſs. Every two months this Council chooſes two *Capitani:* who are in miniature what the Conſuls were at Rome. The Judge and the Phyſician muſt both be ſtrangers; and are elected once in three years.

The people of San Marino are ſo attentive to the education of their children that they hold the office of ſchoolmaſter in great reſpect.

They have only once made war. In the 15th century, they took part with Pope Pius the Second againſt Sigiſmund Malateſta, Lord of Rimini. The Pope made them a preſent of four fortreſſes, but they refuſed to enlarge their territories. In the year 1740, ſome malcontents invited Pope Clement the Twelfth

to take poſſeſſion of the town; and he ſent the Cardinal Alberoni, to make enquiries whether the majority of the people were inclined to renounce their freedom. Alberoni truly informed him that only a part of them had any ſuch inclination, and the Pope was juſt enough to leave them in the undiſturbed enjoyment of their liberties, which they ſtill continue to enjoy. Celebrated for their equity and the ſimplicity of their manners, they deſpiſe trade: for they do not honour wealth, but chiefly ſubſiſt on the produce of their lands; which, although the mountain is frequently covered with ſnow for three months, ſtill produce generous wine and excellent fruits.

In want of ſprings, they are obliged to uſe the water that is kept in the ciſterns. The young men induſtriouſly exerciſe themſelves in arms. Amid all the commotions by which Italy was diſtracted in the middle ages, Princes and Free States continued to reſpect their virtue, and their love of peace; nor were they once attacked. When this little nation writes to the Republic of Venice, the addreſs on their letters is *Alla noſtra cariſſima ſorella, la ſereniſſima Republica di Venezia:*

To

To our dearly beloved ſiſter, the moſt ſerene Republic of Venice.

Rivini, Savignana, Ceſena, Forli, and Faenza, are all well-built towns. The bridges are excellent; and the inns, not only better than are to be found any where elſe in Italy, but, are really good. The fertile country is well cultivated, and the province is viſibly proſperous. Ceſena is a very ancient town: the Romans called it *Cæſena*. The nobles have erected a ſtatue of bronze in front of the Caſino, or the houſe in which they aſſemble, to the preſent Pope; who is a native of Ceſena.

Between Savignano and Ceſena, we croſſed the Rubicon; which, in early times, ſeparated Italy from Gaul. By an ancient law, any Roman commander, who, with a legion, a cohort, or any ſmall band of armed men, ſhould paſs this ſtream, was declared an enemy to his country. Cæſar paſſed it with his army, when he marched to Rome; intending to enſlave the Romans. At the beginning of the preſent century, a Pope built a bridge over the Rubicon; where he placed a ſtone table, with the ancient law: and, oppoſite to that, a modern inſcription.

The

The people of Rimini affirm the wide river Marecchia to be the ancient Rubicon; and the Italians warmly contend for ſuch kind of viſionary preferences: ſo that the very common people take part in theſe literary diſputes, and cheriſh their patriotic vanity.

We travelled for a conſiderable time upon the ancient Æmilian way: ſo called after Æmilius Scaurus, who was conſul with Cæcilius Metellus; in the year of Rome 630.

The art of making earthen ware, in imitation of porcelain, was firſt diſcovered at Faenza. A native of this place found clay near Nevers, in France, which greatly reſembled the clay of Faenza; and introduced the art to that kingdom: calling the pottery, which the Italians had before called *Majolica*, *Fayence;* in honour of his native place.

The ancient name of *Faenza* was *Faventia.* Carbo, one of the partiſans of Sylla, ſuffered a defeat here; and was driven out of Italy.

Imola is built in a ſmiling plain; and was founded, by a King of the Lombards, on the place where formerly the *Forum Cornelii* ſtood: which was ſo called after Sylla, who was of the family of the *Cornelii.*

After

After the expulsion of the Lombards, the people of Bologna subjected this town; and it had different rulers, the last of whom was the tyrant Cæsar Borgia: who was deposed by Pope Julius the Second. There was once a society of the Literati in Imola, who flourished under the title of *Li Industriosi:* or The Assiduous.

The fertility and active cultivation of the country did not cease with the government of the Bolognese. We must ascribe the partial and false accounts, given by many travellers, to the erroneous ideas that they had conceived of the States of the Church; and which have even been propagated by Büsching.

Speaking of the States of the Church, this author says:

"When we recollect that the papal territory includes much fertile and excellent land, possesses great requisites for trade, is provided with good ports on the Adriatic and Mediterranean seas, that the Pope moreover draws considerable sums from other countries, that Rome is visited by strangers, who there expend their money, that the sanctity of the Pontiff's person and character exceeds that of any other person and is considered

" ſidered by his ſubjects as favoured by Hea-
" ven, we might well have ſuppoſed that no
" States would have been ſo flouriſhing and
" happy as thoſe he governs. But the direct
" contrary is the fact. The land is ill culti-
" vated, the country is very poor, and it is in-
" ſufficiently provided with inhabitants. Trade
" and manufactures are confined to the towns
" of Bologna and Ancona: Senigaglia and
" Peſaro excepted. If God did not give the
" people dates, figs, olives, and various fruits,
" gratuitouſly, without their care or trouble,
" and did he not provide them, requiring little
" of their labour, with bread and wine, they
" muſt through their own neglect die of hun-
" ger."

If the inhabitants lived on dates and figs, or on thoſe fruits which require but little care and labour, they muſt indeed, as Mr. Büſching ſays, ſoon die of hunger. Throughout the States of the Church, I have met only with a few of the date-bearing palm in Terracina, and a ſingle tree in Rome. In the kingdom of Naples, I ſaw from twelve to fifteen; and about forty in Sicily. The date ſeldom ripens even in this iſland, and in Reggio; and the tree is planted rather for pleaſure than profit.

Almonds

Almonds conſtitute a conſiderable part of the food of the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. In the country round Rome, they are not produced in ſufficient quantities for the ſupply of this large city; and farther toward the north they are only to be found in gardens. I grant that the grape requires leſs care here than in Germany: yet the vine-dreſſers of theſe countries have much trouble in cultivating their vineyards, and preparing their wine.

I have ſcarcely met with lands better cultivated in the *Terra di Lavoro*, or in the *Bergſtraſſe* of the Palatinate, than in the province of Romagna; and no where ſo many well-built and flouriſhing towns as in the Marquiſate of Ancona, and in Romagna.

That the States of the Church are capable of improvement, and that they are favoured by climate and ſituation, lying as they do between the two ſeas, I readily grant. Many of the Popes have been weak and ſome tyrannical governors. Moſt of them were old, when they were elected; and were in haſte to enrich their nephews, at the expence of the country. Ambition and vanity have frequently induced them either to deſtroy, or to

neglect, the works begun by their predeceſſors. The great quantity of monaſteries is injurious to the country in more reſpects than one, as Mr. Büſching very juſtly remarks; and it is equally true that the numerous pilgrimages, by which it was formerly enriched, are now become injurious: becauſe moſt of the pilgrims are beggars. But, as the Catholic religion conſiders theſe pilgrimages as meritorious, and as the States of the Church draw ſuch conſiderable ſums from ſo many Catholic countries, it is but juſt that they ſhould maintain the pilgrims. Beſide that, though they beg, they conſume all they get in the country; and do not return home enriched. The lazy pilgrims of the country itſelf are its chief burthen.

The numerous feſtival days have been decried by perſons who did not know that, Sunday excepted, ſuch feſtivals, or holidays, are days of labour in Italy. One day of reſt in the week is to be honoured, as of divine inſtitution. If the labours and cares of providing for their ſubſiſtence were never interrupted, the oppreſſed poor would forget their God; and, alike unſanctified and incapable of giving or of receiving pleaſure, they would rather re-

reſemble beaſts of burthen than beings created for eternity.

The hills near Bologna are covered with country-houſes, gardens, and ſmall groves; which give them a charming appearance. We arrived early enough at Bologna to reviſit ſome of the pictures, which, in the autumn of the year before, had afforded us ſo much enjoyment.

It is remarkable to obſerve how the Appennines, from Spoleto and Foligno, divide Italy into two diſtinct countries: Upper, and Lower. Before you come to Loretto, the country is flat. The plains begin at Rimini; and extend through all Lombardy, to the foot of the towering Alps. As the country changes, ſo do the phyſiognomies and entire forms of the people change: though the differences are not very diſtinct till you come to the German ſide of Bologna; and indeed, till you arrive at that city, you always ſee a link of pleaſing woody hills on the left.

In like manner, we found the cattle beginning to differ, both in kind and colour, from the

the cattle of the ſouthern provinces. They are no longer of ſo light a grey; but ſome of them are red, and moſt of them of a mixed colour. The ſwine, which through all lower and middle Italy were black, are in theſe provinces red. The men have leſs animation; and, as the rich ſtreams of life are here leſs glowing, they more frequently indulge themſelves in the uſe of wine.

Between Bologna and Ferrara, you meet with no hills; much leſs mountains. Strengthened and fed by the fat ſoil, both man and beaſt here begin to have leſs of the fire of the South; and ſomewhat more, ſhall I ſay of northern phlegm; or of northern thought?

Between Bologna and Ferrara, you would imagine yourſelf in the marſhy countries near the Elbe; in Hanover, and Holſtein; or in the Weſtphalian diſtricts, that lie between Bremen and the mouth of the Weſer. You meet with the ſame kind of fertile meadow lands, ſimilar cattle, trees loaded with apples, walnut trees of a like appearance, and plump-looking people living in ſcattered houſes. As you travel along the Reno and beyond it, you find thoſe kind of high cauſeways of ſtiff clay, which the people of the Netherlands call *dykes*.

The

The numerous poplars, and vines that ſpread from tree to tree, appear deſirous of reminding you that you ſtill really are in Italy; though it is what you can ſcarcely believe.

The little town of Cento, twenty Italian miles from Bologna, and the ſame diſtance from Ferrara, belongs to the Bologneſe territory; and was the native place of the painter Giovanni Franceſco Barbieri, who is ſo well known by the name of Guercino da Cento. He was called Guercino becauſe he ſquinted: for *Guercino* and *Guercio* both mean to ſquint. He was born in the year 1590, and died in 1666.

In the churches of Cento pictures are met with by him, and his maſter Giuſeppe Gennaro. Guercino was an ornament to the Bologneſe ſchool.

The circumference of Ferrara is more than a German mile; and it is conſequently reckoned among the largeſt cities of Italy. It was founded by an Exarch in the ſixth century. Theſe Exarchs reſided at Ravenna; and were appointed to govern the northern province, which remained under the dominion of the Emperors of the Eaſt.

The univerſity was founded by the Emperor

Frederic the Second; and was intended to rival the univerſity of Bologna. Theobaldo, Duke of Eſte, held Ferrara with its territory, which was a Marquiſate, of Pope John the Twelfth, toward the end of the tenth century. Paul the Second increaſed the dignity to a Dukedom. Ferrara became one of the moſt flouriſhing towns of Italy under the Houſe of Eſte. After the death of Alphonſus the Second, Pope Clement the Eighth, in the year 1598, ſeized on this country; which ought to have deſcended to the Houſe of Modena, as a branch of the Houſe of Eſte.

Since Ferrara has no longer been governed by its own Princes, it has greatly declined. The preſent circumference of this depopulated city, which now ſcarcely contains thirty thouſand inhabitants, is a proof of its former grandeur. The ſtreets are broad, but the houſes are ill-built. An arm of the Po flowed near Ferrara, which has been dried up; becauſe of the frequent inundations, which laid the lands waſte and rendered the air unhealthy. It is probable that the Dukes formerly were careful to keep the bed clear, and its courſe into the ſea uninterrupted. To dry up a river, the mouth of which is ſo near,

appears it is true to be a ſafe but a deſperate remedy.

The outſide of the cathedral is in the extreme of the Gothic ſtyle; poor, but fantaſtical! Within, it is beautiful; from the alterations which ſucceeding ages have made.

The great Arioſto is buried in the church of *San Benedetto;* and a beautiful marble monument is erected to his memory. Taſſo likewiſe lived ſeveral years in Ferrara.

Five Italian miles from Ferrara, we paſſed the Po by a ferry. Here, near its mouth this river is a powerful ſtream; and appears to be about the ſame width as the Rhine, at Düſſeldorf. Some leagues afterward, we alſo paſſed the *Etſch;* or the *Adige;* the breadth of which is here conſiderable. The ozier grows on the banks of both theſe rivers; by the ſide of which there were houſes thatched with reeds, which was the firſt time that I had ſeen thatch of any kind in Italy. The road leads over high cauſeways; below which the fat cattle paſture, in luxuriant meadows. The clothing of the people, their countenances, and the domeſtic management of the houſes, rather reſemble thoſe of the Netherlands than of Italy: except that there are arcades before

the houſes, though frequently only on one ſide of the way. Theſe arcades, which were introduced by the Tyrrheni, the former inhabitants of Tuſcany, are at preſent much more frequently found in Lombardy.

Rovigo is the chief town of the province of Poleſino; which, nearly three hundred years ago, was taken from the Dukes of Ferrara by the Venetians. The peaſantry of this country, which is famed for its proſperity, live in worſe huts than the peaſants of the territories of Bologna and Ferrara; which belong to the States of the Church.

Monte Celeſe, that lies at the foot of a mountain on which a fortreſs is built, appertains to Padua. From this place to Padua, the road proceeds along a dam, by the ſide of a canal; and, at this ſeaſon of the year, is very bad. We met with waggons that were loaded with grapes, and that were drawn by from ſix to eight pair of ſtrong oxen. The cattle and horſes here are very large, for they are well paſtured. From the condition of the cattle, concluſions may in general be ſafely drawn concerning the proſperity of the people. On each ſide of the canal, we ſaw many country ſeats, great fertility of paſturage, vineyards, trees,

trees, white poplars of an extraordinary ſize, and weeping-willows that for beauty even excel thoſe of the villa Pamfili, at Rome.

Padua, which the Italians pronounce Padova, was formerly called *Patavium*; and is one of the moſt ancient towns of Italy. Virgil aſcribes its origin to the Trojan hero, Antenor; who, according to tradition, came to Italy after the deſtruction of Troy *.

Padua was the native place of the great hiſtorian Livy. This author tells us that Cleonymus, King of the Spartans †, who made a deſcent for plunder on theſe coaſts, was repulſed by the people of Patavium; and that, in his time, there was an annual commemoration of the victory, with the repreſentation of a combat on the water, which was exhibited on the river that bathes the city.

Padua was early the ally of Rome. It was deſtroyed by Alarick; and burned by Attila, and the inhabitants driven into the marſh.

Charlemagne was its reſtorer, after whom it was governed by Podeſtas.

Ezzellino, the ſcourge of this whole country and the chief of the Ghibelines, ſubjected Padua. A cruſade was undertaken againſt

* Virg. Æn. i. 242. † Liv. lib. x. c. 2.

this tyrant; he being an enemy to the Pope; and the Princes and cities of Lombardy took the field againſt him, made him a priſoner, and he died in chains, in the year 1259.

After his death, the people of Padua for a time maintained their freedom; but again fell into ſlavery, and were governed by the houſe of Carrara. In the year 1406, the city and its territory were conquered by the Venetians.

In ancient times, games were celebrated in Patavium every thirty years; of which, according to Tacitus *, Antenor was the founder, and at which tragedies were repreſented.

Padua, like Ferrara, was formerly more populous than it is at preſent. We cannot wonder at the increaſe of theſe and other towns in the fourteenth century; for they were peopled in part at the expence of Rome: the inhabitants of which, while the Popes reſided at Avignon, were reduced to the number of twenty thouſand. Padua is now ſuppoſed to contain forty thouſand ſouls.

Padua boaſts of being the nurſing-mother and tutoreſs of the proud Venice; to which young city it ſent Magiſtrates, and Judges,

* Annal. xvi. 21.

at

at the time when, laying its foundations on the little iſlands where it ſtands, it offered a ſecure retreat to the numerous Italians, who fled from the deſolating Attila. In the mean while, Padua, if, after a lapſe of centuries, it can conſole itſelf for the loſs of its often-interrupted independence, may eſteem itſelf happy under the government of a powerful Republic; that knows how to protect its territories, and that is honoured for the mildneſs and the wiſdom with which it rules.

The Church of St. Juſtina is large, handſome, and ornamented with an excellent picture by Paul Veroneſe; the ſubject of which is the martyrdom of the Saint to whom the church is dedicated.

In the Church of Saint Auguſtin, we ſaw John the Baptiſt, by Guido; which is one of the moſt perfect pictures of this great maſter. Proteſtants are buried in the cloiſter of the church; and monuments erected to their memory even in the portico.

The Church of St. Anthony of Padua, the patron of the city, by whom the Italians ſo frequently ſwear, and whoſe name they ſo often invoke when they undertake any ardu-

ous taſk, is viſited by the moſt devout of the pilgrims.

Near the Palazzo Foſcari is a church belonging to that family; the walls of which, from top to bottom, are embelliſhed with the freſco paintings of Giotto; one of the earlieſt of the Italian painters. He was born in the year 1276, and died in 1336; and Veſpignano, in Tuſcany, was the place of his birth. Cimabue, a native Greek, who with other Greeks had been ſent for by the Senate of Florence, that they might introduce the art of painting to Italy, found the young Giotto, who was a goatherd, drawing the figure of that animal on a ſtone. Cimabue took the boy with him to Florence, at which city he ſoon ſignalized himſelf. In the pictures of this church, we ſee the mind of the man combating with the rudeneſs of early art. After the manner of the painters of thoſe times, his genius deſcends to the low comic, even when the ſubject is ſerious; as is viſible in his repreſentation of hell. Still however his pictures prove he poſſeſſed genius. He likewiſe was a ſculptor, and an architect.

In the open place before this church the bronze

bronze equeſtrian ſtatue of the Venetian General, Gattamelata, is erected by the Republic. The great ancient hall, in the Council-houſe, is remarkable: its figure is a rhomboid of a hundred and ſixteen paces in length, and thirty-eight in breadth; and it is wainſcoted with an internal roof terminating in a point. The walls above and below are painted without choice of ſubject. The buſt of Livy, which is antique, is intereſting. Near it is the buſt of Dondi; who was ſurnamed Orologio. He was a native of Padua, lived at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and invented a clock which deſcribed the courſe of the ſun and the moon, and the changes of the latter. In this hall there is a ſtone, on which debtors uſed formerly to ſit; as an avowal that they could not ſatisfy their creditors.

The Univerſity was founded by Frederic the Second in the year 1222; and became ſo famous that ſtudents were ſent thither from all parts of Europe. The great Galileo here taught geometry; and the number of ſtudents in former times conſiſted of eighteen thouſand.

This foundation was favoured by the Republic of Venice; which thus excited the favourable

vourable zeal of the ſcholars, who kept the citizens that had unwillingly renounced their independance in awe. The number of ſtudents at preſent is only ſix hundred. The Republic expends very much on this Univerſity; the profeſſors of which are well paid.

The botanic garden is the fineſt in Italy. The *Firmiana* of China, which is ſtill generally unknown in Europe, here attains the ſize of a large tree. Its clear verdure and ſpreading foliage, with its tall and ſlender trunk, give it a ſtately appearance.

Various plants, which we had met with wild in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, here grow ſome againſt a wall and ſome in pots.

I have no where ſeen the *memoſa*, the *bignonia catalpa*, the tulip tree, and the *ſtaphylæa pinnata*, ſo large as in this garden.

Another garden is under the ſuperintendance of a public profeſſor, who gives lectures on agriculture.

Petrarch was a Canon of Padua; and Arioſto and Taſſo both ſtudied in this city.

There is a ſpacious circular place in Padua, which is the largeſt that I have met with in any city. It is embelliſhed with eighty ſtatues

tües of famous men, who have deſerved well of Padua, or of Venice, or who have honoured Padua by their reſidence, or preſence. Among the perſons not natives, the moſt remarkable are Galileo, Petrarch, Arioſto, Taſſo, Stephen Batori, John Sobieſki, and Guſtavus Adolphus. To theſe three Kings, who ſtudied in Padua, their modern ſucceſſors, the preſent King of Poland and the late King of Sweden, have cauſed ſtatues to be erected.

We travelled from Naples to Padua with poſt-horſes: although ſtrangers are continually warned againſt Italian poſts, and inns, and therefore uſually hire a *vetturino;* who employs his own cattle, and takes upon himſelf the expence at the inns. If the vetturino be an honeſt man, like him who brought us laſt year from Geneva to Rome, and from Rome to Naples, the traveller then has no trouble: except that he journeys very ſlowly, is frequently obliged to riſe at two in the morning, and does not arrive at the place where he takes a ſhort night's reſt before the cloſe of day. But you have neither ſuch good beds nor entertainment as when you travel with poſt-horſes. In the latter caſe, the traveller will do well, as ſoon as he enters the houſe,

houſe, to make an agreement with the landlord.

With reſpect to the poſtillions, their demand is three *paoli*, for the uſual ſtage of eight Italian miles, as their own perquiſite: but, if you give them no more, you muſt wrangle with them at every ſtage. If you give each poſtillion four *paoli*, he will be tolerably well ſatisfied: though he will ſeldom fail to aſk for a trifle more, in addition. To travel poſt is expenſive; but it is the moſt expeditious mode of travelling. Poſtillions drive ſafer and quicker than the *vetturini*: beſide which, for every day's delay at any place that you come to, you muſt pay the ſame to the *vetturino* as if you were travelling.

From Padua, we took boat and went upon the Brenta: the two arms of which, that join again at ſome miles diſtance, make the city nearly an iſland. The paſſage by water to Venice is performed in half a day. On each bank of the ſtream there are many country ſeats, of the principal Venetians; which render the paſſage pleaſant: but I do not find in them thoſe ſuperior charms which ſome travellers have deſcribed. The boat is drawn by a horſe; for the river, by the aid of four

ſluices,

fluices, is rendered as flat as a canal. At the diſtance of five Italian miles from Venice, you come to the open ſea: where you behold that magnificent city ſeeming to ſwim and riſing out of the waters. The proſpect is unique in its kind.

The appearance of the city, when paſſing through the canals, is ſtill more ſingular. The houſes ſtand upon piles, over which the waves flow. Some rows of houſes are ſeparated by a quay, from the canals: or rather from the ſmall arms of the ſea, which form the iſlands. Others ſtand immediately in the water, that waſhes the ſtone ſteps up which you aſcend from the canals to the houſes. Theſe houſes have back-doors, into narrow ſtreets: by which, aided by bridges, all parts of the city are acceſſible to foot paſſengers. The canals are covered with *gondole*, each of which is rowed by a man. Theſe *gondole* muſt all be black; and in the middle they have each a ſmall canopy, which muſt not be covered with any other ſtuff but black cloth. Hence they have a gloomy appearance. Being long and ſmall, they ſkim lightly along in ſo rapid a manner that, though cautiouſly managed, at firſt they terrify ſtrangers. Like as in Naples

the

the coaches throng upon each other, and preſs upon the crowded people in full trot, ſo do the light *gondole* ſhoot like an arrow through the throng of other *gondole*, without running foul of each other.

The ſun was gone down, behind the mountains of Padua, when we arrived at Venice. In my next letter, I hope to tell you more of the ſituation and hiſtory of this remarkable city. All good be with you.

LETTER CIV.

Venice, 24th October 1792.

VENICE cannot boaſt of that remote antiquity which is claimed by many of her ſiſter cities: though the gentilitious name is loſt in the ancient annals of hiſtory. Antiquarians derive the Heneti from the Trojans: who, after the deſtruction of their city, retired with Antenor to theſe countries. The word *Heneti* was changed into the word *Veneti*: after the manner in which the ancient Italians uſually pronounced Greek words. *Spina*, and *Ha-*

Hadria, or *Adria*, were the moſt ancient towns of this country. *Spina* lay on the left ſide of the mouth of the Po. *Hadria* is at preſent a ſmall place, known by the name of *Adria*.

In the year 452, when Attila deſtroyed the mighty Aquileia, which is now a little town on the eaſtern coaſt, and every where ſpread the terror of his name, the people of Aquileia and other inhabitants of theſe countries fled to the marſhes, and founded Venice. They erected a free State; which remained four hundred years in ſafety becauſe of its inſignificance, and afterward becauſe of its increaſing power. During four hundred years they continued to elect conſuls, and tribunes: but, finding them abuſe their power, they aſked permiſſion of the Emperor Leo to appoint a Duke.

Weary of the proceedings of their Dukes, in the year 1172, they limited this dignity and named a Council of ten nobles; which was intended as a counterpoiſe to the power of the Duke. In the year 1296, the power of this Council was ſtill farther increaſed. The Duke, or Doge, *Gradenigo*, with peculiar dig-

dignity, willingly renounced privileges which appeared to him incompatible with freedom.

In the middle ages, Venice attained that ſummit of grandeur which excited the jealouſy of other nations. The trade of this Republic extended over the three quarters of the Old World. It made conqueſts, but always for the increaſe and ſecurity of commerce. The Senate at all times continued firm in the purſuit of their prudent ſyſtem: by which the Conſtitution of Venice acquired a ſtability, which has been maintained amid all the political and moral revolutions of Europe. It has loſt Cyprus, Candia, and the Morea. The diſcovery of the paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope has opened the road to India and China to other nations: whereas formerly Venice alone was in poſſeſſion of the trade of the Eaſt; which it carried on by means of the caravans of thoſe countries, and by bringing their merchandize over the Red Sea to Europe.

In thoſe ages, Germany was wealthy. Her cities ſupplied, not only the northern kingdoms, but France and England likewiſe, with the commodities of the Levant. The alliance of the Hanſe towns, by traffic, made half Europe

rope tributary to them: yet the Hanse towns themselves chiefly received their wealth from the superabundance of Venice, and contributed to enrich this central mart of the known world.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, a league was formed at the instigation of Pope Julius the Second, between the Emperor, the Kings of France and Naples, and the Dukes of Savoy and Ferrara, for the subjugation of the Republic. Venice it is true lost several provinces, but resisted her puissant enemies with courage and caution: till this terrific league was dissolved by the mutual mistrust of its chiefs.

Since the revolution of the year 1297, the great Council has consisted of all the nobility of Venice that were of age: that is, of about fifteen hundred persons; who at least have the right to take their seat in the Senate, whenever they please. The age of majority is twenty-five. Each male child of the five hundred and thirty families, who enjoy this privilege, must at its birth be registered in what is called the Golden Book. The families have equal rights, and equal rank. The descendants of the twelve tribunes, who chose the first

Doge, conſtitute the eleven principal families: for the twelfth is extinct. After theſe, the next in rank are the deſcendants of thoſe who were received into the great Council in the year 1297: and the third order conſiſts of thoſe who purchaſed this right, for a hundred thouſand ducats, in times of public diſtreſs.

Excluſive of theſe, Princes and Kings themſelves are preſented with letters of Nobility. The Nobles of the provinces have no ſhare in the public affairs. The Great Council is the ſole Sovereign, and poſſeſſes the power of making laws. They aſſemble on Sundays and Saints' days: that the members of the colleges and courts of juſtice, who on other days are buſied by the affairs entruſted them, may be preſent.

This aſſembly includes in itſelf the three principal chambers. The firſt of theſe is called *La Signoria;* and conſiſts of the Doge and ſix Senators, who are his conſtant aſſiſtants. Each of theſe Senators appertains to one of the ſix parts into which the city is divided. They may be called the tribunes of the people. To the Signoria likewiſe appertain the ſix *Savi grandi*, or chief ſages, who form the Miniſtry; the three chiefs of the great criminal tribunal

of

of the forty, which is called *La Quarantia*; the five *Savi di Terra firma*, who ſuperintend the war department; and the five *Savi degli Ordini*, to whom all naval affairs are committed.

The ſecond chamber conſiſts of upward of two hundred and fifty members. Theſe are the Senate, who are likewiſe called *Il Conſiglio de i Pregadi*, the entire Signoria, all the Magiſtrates, the Council of Ten, ſixty ſelect Senators, and ſixty other Patricians, or Nobles, who are called *Sotto Pregadi*. The laſt named hundred and twenty are elected every year. The power of determining reſides in the *Conſiglio de i Pregadi*: in which aſſembly the moſt momentous affairs are debated, and war peace and alliances are there concluded.

The third chamber conſiſts of ten perſons: *Il Conſiglio de i Dieci*. The power of this chamber is fearful to the Nobility; againſt whom only it is directed. From its ſentence there is no appeal: of its actions it renders no account. Its authority is concentrated in three perſons: two of whom are named from the Ten, and the third is appointed from the Council of the Doge. Theſe three State-inquiſitors inſpire the whole Nobility with ter-

ror. Their dreadful maxim is, *correre alla pena prima d'eſſaminar la colpa.* Puniſh before you examine the guilty. By them the Doge himſelf may be ſentenced to death. Many of the Nobles are ſecretly cited to come before their tribunal; and many diſappear without any man knowing what is become of them.

In the laſt century, Antonio Faſcarini, a young Senator, fell a ſacrifice to this inquiſition. His good qualities, his underſtanding, and the love the people bore him, excited the jealouſy of theſe ſecret inſpectors. He was ſummoned and put to death.

However the ſubtlety of modern philoſophy, nay of Monteſquieu himſelf, may palliate the oſtraciſm of the Athenians, ſtill it was a tyrannical and unwiſe law: unwiſe becauſe it fettered every noble enterpriſe, and induced the chief citizens to court the favour of the people; and tyrannical becauſe it was capricious. The juſt Ariſtides was its ſacrifice. Pericles eſcaped it, not ſo much becauſe perſuaſion ſat on his lips, not from the thunder of his eloquence, but becauſe he ſhewed himſelf culpably obſequious to the people.

But how much leſs can the State Inquiſition

tion of Venice be juſtified! It is affirmed to be neceſſary, by the Venetians, for the ſafety of the public. Thirty years ago, its aboliſhment was taken into conſideration by the Great Council; and by the Great Council it was confirmed. Unleſs it be aſſerted that it is neceſſary to overawe the power of the Nobility, and unleſs this power can only be overawed by tyrannical caprice, and thus prevented from becoming the deſpot of the State, ſuch a tribunal muſt in itſelf be unjuſt. It is a miſconception of the firſt principles of morals and politics, to imagine that injuſtice can ever be neceſſary. The very end of every political inſtitute is ſecurity againſt power. He muſt be a tyro in politics indeed who ſuppoſes that tyranny conſiſts only in the abuſe of monarchical power. Each Conſtitution is deſpotic in which the Sovereign, whether Prince, Senate, or People, is ſuperior to the laws; and can act according to caprice. Deſpotic Princes are eaſily induced to act abſurdly: under their government States are conſtantly ſubject to change; and proſperity is caſual, becauſe each governs according to the verſatilities of his own opinions. Now almoſt every Prince, being deſirous to counteract the faults of his

predeceſſor, falls himſelf into oppoſite vices. A ſenate communicates ſtability to a State; becauſe it never dies, but generally remains in the ſame ſentiments: or, gently conducted by the ſtream of public opinion, with this it has the wiſdom to ſwim. For this reaſon however its deſpotiſm is the more rooted, if a wiſe conſtitution be not its boundary.

The deſpotiſm of the people is, of all others, the moſt dreadful: but it has no durability. The people are always in their minority. Demagogues, the worſt of men, are their tutors, and continually lead them into anarchy; and from anarchy monarchical deſpotiſm invariably reſults. The people then diſcover too late, when they have become too corrupt for a wiſe conſtitution, that democratical deſpotiſm is the moſt dreadful of all political evils.

The conſtitution of Venice appears to me only to have ſecured itſelf againſt the deſpotiſm of democracy, and monarchy, by the ariſtocracy having taken upon itſelf to correct its own abuſe of power. In itſelf, this conſtitution ſeems exceedingly imperfect: but in its adminiſtration it is mild, and wiſe. Both city and country are well affected to the govern-

vernment: the provincial nobility no doubt the leaſt.

In like manner as the Tribunal of the Ten keep the nobility of Venice in awe, ſo does the Tribunal of the Forty, called *La quarantia criminale*, curb the remainder of the Republic. This tribunal maintains its ſecret ſpies; and is quickly informed of whatever may appear to endanger the repoſe of the State. Eager to miſtruſt and quick to execute, the *quarantia* is dreadful to the citizens: yet it does not infringe the freedom of the people in their common affairs. If they obey the laws, and enter into no diſcourſe againſt the government, they are perfectly ſecure. Whoever ſpeaks too freely is once, or oftener, cited and cautioned. If this be diſregarded, the diſobedient is then for a time impriſoned.

The ſpiritual court of inquiſition has little power. It conſiſts of the Pope's Nuncio, the Archbiſhop of Venice, who is Patriarch of Dalmatia, the Inquiſitor, and three Lay-counſellors. It takes no cognizance either of blaſphemy or of the licenſing of books: neither are the Jews or Greeks dependant upon it. Theſe objects are all within the juriſdiction of the Lay-magiſtracy.

I had almoſt forgotten to mention the Doge, who in his palace and in the council only enjoys princely honours. In the council, he has the title of *Serenita;* or Serene; and is diſtinguiſhed from other Senators in the aſſembly by a purple mantle, and a red velvet hat. He holds precedency in the four different chambers of the Council. To him all petitions and memorials are addreſſed: but he muſt communicate them to the Council. All writings of the Great Council are iſſued in his name: as likewiſe are the credentials of ambaſſadors to foreign courts; though they are not ſigned by him, and are ſealed with the arms of the Republic. He does not, as ſeveral books affirm, poſſeſs two votes, but only one, in the Council.

The coins of Venice on one ſide have the name and the figure of a Doge, kneeling to St. Mark; and the arms of the Republic on the reverſe. When he addreſſes the great council, it is in theſe words: "Great "Council, Sovereign of the Republic and of "me."

His whole revenue conſiſts only of 15,000 ducats of Venice. A Venetian ducat is nearly of the ſame value as a Convention dollar.

lar*. He is annually obliged to give five magnificent feasts; and to invite all foreign ambassadors, and the patricians in office, according to their rank. This revenue therefore, or rather this salary, is certainly too little; when we recollect that the person who is elected may not renounce the dignity, although the council may object to the person elected, or depose him when in office. He has indeed some casual perquisites, and sells all the employments of his palace.

The church of St. Mark only is under his jurisdiction; and the benefices belonging to it are in his gift. He bestows the order of Knight of St. Mark. While he lives, neither his children nor brothers must aspire to the first dignities of the Republic, or to the office of ambassador.

It is said of the Doge: He is a king in purple, a counsellor in the council, a prisoner in the city, and out of it a private person. In the city, he is always attended by the six senators; who with him constitute the *Signoria:* nor is he permitted to leave Venice without their sanction.

* *Ein Thaler Conventions Geld.* I do not know what Convention money means. T.

On the day of Aſcenſion, he goes upon the water on board of a ſuperb veſſel, called the *Bucentoro*, attended by the Lords of the *Signoria*, foreign ambaſſadors, and innumerable *gondole*. On this occaſion he throws a gold ring into the ſea; on which he pronounces the following Latin ſentence: *Deſponſamus te, mare, in ſignum veri perpetuique dominii.* We eſpouſe thee, oh ſea! in token of true and eternal ſovereignty.

When dead, his body with all the inſignia of his dignity lies three days in ſtate, in the palace; during which time his government is ſcrutinized, by inquiſitors who are appointed for that purpoſe. His creditors are likewiſe ſummoned. If his government be pronounced unjuſt, his relations are fined: they likewiſe are obliged to pay his debts: neither is he buried at the expence of the Republic. It cannot eſcape your memory that a ſimilar court ſat in judgment over the dead Kings of ancient Egypt.

The Doge is elected by a plurality of votes, in the Great Council. Theſe votes are never given verbally, in Venice; but, on all occaſions, the negative, or affirmative, is ſignified by little balls. In the choice of the Doge, there

there is a mixture of intention and of chance; by the latter of which it is determined who ſhall finally be the electors. The manner of election makes it difficult to chooſe an improper perſon for the office: nor is it eaſy for any man to influence the choice, for no one knows who will at laſt be the electors. Thoſe in whoſe favour the nine firſt balls are given elect forty; and thoſe of the forty who have twelve balls elect five-and-twenty in addition. Of this number nine perſons, who have drawn golden balls, chooſe forty more: eleven of theſe, who are appointed in the ſame way, elect one-and-forty counſellors. Theſe perſons finally proceed to the election; which remains undetermined till ſome one perſon has five-and-twenty voices in his favour. In all other important deciſions a majority of two balls is required: in affairs of leſs moment, a majority of one is deciſive.

The balls are thrown into a paſte-board box, which has three apertures underneath: one white, one green, and one red. The white is the affirmative, the green the negative, and the red is called *Non ſincera:* for in this thoſe perſons throw their balls who are un-

undetermined. By these means, it remains wholly unknown what is the opinion of each elector, and whether he have voted, or for whom.

As President of the different chambers, the Doge has the right to remind the judges and other magistrates of their duty: but, as his power is so limited, it is a privilege which he seldom exercises.

When he addresses the assembly, the members all stand; and the honour thus shewn him frequently prevents him from opening his lips, or from holding any long discourse: he being very careful to give offence to none.

Judging by appearances, we might be inclined to think the Doge a superfluous person in the Republic; and to tell the Venetians they would have done better if, instead of this eternal shadow of power, they had indulged themselves in the possibility, on extraordinary occasions, of nominating a citizen for a short period, who, liable afterward to be brought to account, should possess unlimited rule after the example of the Romans, when they either conferred absolute power on one of their consuls, with the formula *Ne quid detri-*

menti

menti capiat res publica: Look, conſul, that the Republic receive no injury: or when they appointed one of their conſuls dictator.

On a nearer inveſtigation however of this important queſtion, we may incline to think the office of Doge not ſo inſignificant as it appears. The privilege of precedency in the four chambers inconteſtibly gives him much influence, though he only has a ſingle vote. Neither will thoſe have any deep knowledge of man who are ignorant that the pomp of office gives a value to his opinion, of which in itſelf it is not poſſeſſed. The practice of the Romans was effective, and more than once ſaved the Republic: but it was dangerous.

The palace of the Doge is called *Il palazzo di San Marco:* after the great place of St. Mark. This palace contains the halls of aſſembly for the Great Council, for the Senate or *Conſiglio de i Pregadi*, for the Council of Ten, for the Signoria, and the hall in which the Doge gives audience to ambaſſadors, with the hall of four doors, and others. Each of theſe is embelliſhed with paintings, of the Venetian ſchool, by Titian, Paul Veroneſe, Tintoret, Vicentino, Old Palma, the three brothers, Gian-Ponte, Franceſco and Leandro Baſſano,

ſano, Cavaliere Liberi, Zuccharini, and Lazarini, repreſenting the principal events in the hiſtory of Venice.

In the paſſages of this palace there are Lion-heads of marble, above and below, down the mouths of which ſecret complaints are thrown; which fall into boxes, the keys of which are kept by the State-inquiſitors, who are to determine whether the complaints are well-founded. There is an inſcription under each Lion-head, ſignifying to what kind of miſdemeanor it is appropriated.

The church of St. Mark is likewiſe built in the place of that name; the fantaſtic architecture of which has imparted to it ſomething of a character of greatneſs. Facing the church in this place there are five large arcades, over the centre one of which four gilded horſes, modelled of Corinthian braſs, are placed; which the Venetians, in the beginning of the thirteenth century under the command of their great Doge Dandolo, with the aid of the French, brought from Conſtantinople, after taking that city, and placed them in Venice. They had been ſent from Rome to Conſtantinople by Conſtantine the Great; and had ornamented the triumphal arches firſt of Nero,

and

and then of Trajan. Their great beauty appears to denote that they were of the flouriſhing times of Greek art: though I will not pretend to affirm, with the Venetians, that they are the work of Lyſippus, the contemporary of Alexander the Great.

The place of St. Mark, which properly conſiſts of two places, *La piazza e la piazetta*, or the Place and the Little Place, though the ſmalleſt is very ſpacious, adds greatly to the beauty of the city; and is juſtly eſteemed as one of the firſt, if not the very firſt, and moſt beautiful of the kind in Europe.

The Magiſtrates called *Procuratori di San Marco* are next in rank to the Doge: their influence however in the government is not conſiderable. They are divided into three orders. The *Procuratori di ſopra* are the proper *Procuratori di San Marco*. The *Procuratori di citra* have the juriſdiction of that part of the city which lies on this ſide of the great canal; and the *Procuratori oltra* on the other ſide. The firſt have precedence of all the other nobility; and from their body the Doge is generally choſen. Under their ſuperintendance are the library of *San Marco*, the church revenues, and the archives.

The ſecond and third claſſes are Executors of legacies *ad pias cauſas*, have the protection of orphans and widows, annually divide certain ſums for the portioning of poor girls, and ſuperintend the ranſom of the Chriſtians impriſoned by the Barbary corſairs. If I do not miſtake, they are nominated by the Doge. He generally appoints ſuch perſons as have been ambaſſadors to foreign courts, provided they are rich: for the office is highly expenſive. Their uſual number is eleven; and theſe offices had their origin in the eleventh century, when one of the principal citizens was firſt intruſted with the adminiſtration of the revenue, and the ſuperintendance of the church of *San Marco*.

Venice has nothing to fear from an enemy. The ſea which ſurrounds it, and which is called the *Laguna*, is ſo ſhallow that great ſhips cannot approach the city, without going through the canals; the courſe of which are denoted by piles, that in ſuch a caſe would all be taken away. It requires large ſums annually to cleanſe theſe canals, which are cut through the whole city in great numbers. Some of them waſh the houſes; and many rows of houſes have a quay between them and the

the water. The great canal winds through the city, which it divides; and over this the ſuperb bridge called the *Rialto* is built, of marble, and has one lofty arch, and three ſtreets; the central one of which has ſhops, both in back and in front.

Founded on ſeventy-two iſlands, the different quarters of Venice are connected with each other by nearly five hundred bridges; under which the *gondole* can paſs. The hum and tumult of the amphibious gondoliers are aſtoniſhingly animated! What muſt they have been during the times when the proſperity of Venice was at its height; and when it was the centre of commerce between the eaſtern and the weſtern world? The *gondole* are all black; the meaneſt of coloured wood, the others covered with black cloth. It is difficult to accuſtom the eye to their gloomy appearance. Were they unable to limit the luxury of which they were afraid in any other manner? Why muſt theſe little boats have each the appearance of a hearſe? For the covered place in which the paſſengers ſit looks like a coffin. However they are conveniently contrived, ſo that you may either ſit or lie down at pleaſure; and they have glaſs windows on each ſide

which will open. One gondolier rows at the ſtem; another at the ſtern; and there is ſufficient room for four paſſengers. The veſſels glide rapidly along; and formerly the gondoliers uſed to ſing paſſages from Arioſto, and Taſſo: but now only ſome old man among them is occaſionally heard to chaunt ſtanzas from theſe poets. The dialect of the gondoliers is a little different from that of the Venetians. Taſſo's Jeruſalem Delivered has been tranſlated into thirteen different dialects of Italy. So great is the love of theſe people for their poets. It is very pleaſant on an evening to ſee the lanterns of the *gondole* gliding along the canal, while the boats that bear them are inviſible. It might be imagined that the darkneſs in which the Government veils itſelf, its tribunal of the *quarantia*, its inquiſition, and its ſecret ſpies, with the opportunity which every man has of accuſation through the open jaws of the lions in the palace of the Doge, would render the nation deceitful and gloomy. On the contrary, the people have as much jocularity and vivacity as any in Italy, and ſeldom are guilty of crimes. Excluſive of the opera, there are five different play-houſes here. The Venetian *Truffaldino*

is

is at leaſt as comic as the *Pulicinello* of the Neapolitans, if not more ſo; and his blunders put the thronging ſpectators in a roar and ſhake the houſe with laughter.

It is cuſtomary for foreigners to reproach the Italian comedy with exaggeration, or buffoonery: a reproach which I grant the ſober German and French comedy but ſeldom deſerves. But is exaggeration a defect in comedy? Is not the attention turned by caricature to the remarking of little abſurdities? If all exceſs be baniſhed, with it we muſt baniſh laughter. We neither reproach Ariſtophanes, Plautus, Cervantes, Hogarth, nor Sterne, when they afford us inſtruction by the traits of caricature which genius affords *. They do but pour

* This is a doubtful and a difficult queſtion; and it ought firſt to be decided that theſe authors, at leaſt the modern, are caricaturiſts before they are ſo called. Hogarth in particular, who has been ſo ſtigmatiſed the moſt frequently, ſpurned at the accuſation; and I think juſtly. And which was the beſt judge: the phlegmatic drone, who walks the world with his eyes ſhut; or the keen, the waking, the watchful Hogarth? I never met with a face, in Hogarth, that I could not honeſtly ſwear to having ſeen its prototype times out of number. Cervantes, Sterne, caricaturiſts? To me, I confeſs, this is poetical blaſphemy! That which we have not taken the trouble to

pour our own follies down our laughing throats. I regret as much as any man the want of the fine characteriſtic traits of manners, in the Italian comedy, and that deep knowledge of man which the philoſophic Terence poſſeſſes: but do I feel none of this regret for our own comedy? If the opinion of Leſſing be true, that we are not yet ſufficiently advanced to endure the abſence of Harlequin, and I cannot but think the remark well grounded, if we wiſh to have a piece entirely comic, we have then no right to ſpurn at the genial abſurdities of the *Buffo*, the *Pulicinello*, or the *Truffaldino*.

Should any one reprobate their immorality, an accuſation which their equivocal obſcenities not only juſtify but loudly demand, while I join in the reproof, I muſt aſk whether our comedies are entirely pure? though I grant

note down in our memory, we affirm, with the effrontery of ſelf-ſatisfaction, does not exiſt. The Prince of Siam, or of ſome hot country, called the man a liar who told him of ice; and, what is more ſtrange, the ambulators of large cities call the man a caricaturiſt, who exhibits a picture of objects which they daily meet, yet cannot be ſaid to ſee. Theſe remarks have no relation to the obſcene, or the diſguſting, buffooneries either of Italy or of any other nation. T.

they do not produce the ſame fullneſs of effect: becauſe their authors, when they preſent brandy to the ſpectator, are careful to give it a plentiful daſh of water. There is an original trait in Plautus, which has been the admiration of centuries. It is the paſſage where old Euclio, ſuſpecting himſelf to be robbed by his ſlave, Strobilus, aſks him to ſhew his hands; and, in the rage of ſuſpicion, requires to ſee his third hand.

Eucl. *Oſtende huc manus.*
Str. *Hem tibi oſtendi! eccas!*
Eucl. *Video, age oſtende etiam tertiam.*
PLAUT. Aul. act. iv. ſc. 5.

Eucl. Shew me your hands.
Str. Here they are: look!
Eucl. Ay! But ſhew me your third hand!

This exaggeration places the comic of the underſtanding in its true point of view; and ſimilar traits are frequently found in the Italian comedy: uttered chiefly by the Buffo, Pulicinello, or Truffaldino. I am far from preſenting this ſpecies as a model, and much leſs as the beſt of models, for comedy: but no one who has once ſeen the Italian comedy will deny that it poſſeſſes humour.

In the place of St. Mark, and on the new great quay by the ſea ſide, quack doctors, tumblers, jugglers, and people who ſing tragical ditties, with animated geſticulation, aſſemble ; and it is affirmed that theſe diverting gentry are ſecretly paid by the Government, to keep the citizens in good humour. But I ſuſpect that a Government ſo cautious would not adopt a meaſure that, were it known, might have bad conſequences. The people every where reſemble children ; whoſe ſports are permitted, and promoted, but openly. If any ſecret intention be diſcovered, their pleaſure changes to miſtruſt : they begin to imagine themſelves unhappy as ſoon as they are aware that clandeſtine artifices are employed for their amuſement. In fact, the Government is in no need of ſuch an artifice ; for the people are harmleſs, and happy.

The *Nobili di Venezia*, or Nobility of Venice, who are likewiſe called *Patrici*, or Patricians, muſt not appear in the public theatres except in dominos ; and with maſks either covering the face or pendant from the hat. They govern the Republic, but are themſelves under rigorous reſtraint. The Lords of the ſecret State Inquiſition, to whoſe animadverſions alone

alone the Patricians are ſubject, are by no means ſo indulgent as the Council of Forty, who watch the conduct of the citizens, and have their ſpies. Neither Patricians nor their wives dare travel, without permiſſion. If guilty of any miſdemeanor, they are puniſhed with arreſt; without knowing for what length of time, and without their friends daring to intercede in their behalf. This proud but prudent oligarchy well foreſaw that the reſpect of the reigning families muſt depend on their manners; and that thoſe rulers, who wiſhed for authority without rendering themſelves hateful, muſt themſelves be ſubject to the ſevereſt reſtrictions.

The ſuſpicion with which they treat foreign envoys, and ambaſſadors, is equally unjuſt and unworthy. No Patricians, either in town or country, dare viſit them or receive their viſits: neither muſt their wives viſit or receive viſits from them; and whoever belongs to the family of an ambaſſador is as much avoided, by the Patricians, as the ambaſſador himſelf. It is not thirty years ſince all travellers were excluded from the ſociety of the Patricians, as ſoon as they had any intercourſe with an ambaſſador: but in the ſeverity of this

rule they have now relaxed. Ambaſſadors may have free intercourſe with the merchants, and provincial nobility. Till within theſe forty years, no ambaſſador, except the Nuncio, had any public entrance: nor were any admitted to an audience with the Doge, or invited to the public feaſts which are given by that magiſtrate. They do not tranſact buſineſs with the *Savi grandi* by word of mouth, but by writing; and anſwers are tranſmitted to them by a ſecretary. Theſe anſwers are read to the envoy, or the ambaſſador; and are taken down in writing by his ſecretary, the originals being carried back by the Venetian ſecretary.

It is ignoble and unwiſe to conſider foreign ambaſſadors, whoſe dignified office it is to be the mediators of peace, and to employ their whole power to preſerve concord between nation and nation, I ſay it is impolitic to treat ſuch men as ſpies. In Venice, this practice is the more abſurd becauſe, in defiance of all their precautions, no determination of the *Conſiglio de i Pregadi*, which conſiſts of about two hundred and fifty members, can remain ſecret; and in this aſſembly the ſubjects of war, peace, and alliance, are treated and concluded

cluded on. Here all the affairs that relate to foreign nations are diſcuſſed: objects which, in my opinion, ought to have been confided to the *Signoria;* as it is exceedingly natural that the final determination on ſubjects ſo important ſhould be confirmed by the vote of the *Conſiglio de i Pregadi.*

The Republic has adhered about ſixty years to its ſyſtem of neutrality: but it is an armed neutrality. It appears to me to have wiſely renounced all thought of conqueſt; and to have firmly determined to maintain its poſſeſſions on both ſides of the Adriatic, and in the Greek iſlands.

The Arſenal no doubt is as worthy of obſervation as any arſenal in Europe: for it conſiſts of ſtores both for ſea and land. Arms for ſixty thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe are arranged in an ornamental manner; and decorated with ancient armour, and Turkiſh ſpoils. At the entrance of the arſenal, there are two antique coloſſal lions, of Parian marble; which were brought from the celebrated Piræan haven, by the Doge Franceſco Moroſini; who took Athens, and ſo heroically defended Candia.

I am aſſured that two thouſand eight hundred

dred workmen are daily employed in the arſenal: where you ſee rope-makers, anchor-ſmiths, and cannon-founders. The proviſion of artillery, mortars, howitzers, and other inſtruments of deſtruction, is dreadful. The arſenal contains eighteen ſhips of the line, and ſix frigates, each in its covered dry dock; and ſix new ſhips of the line are now building. Contrary to the cuſtom of every other maritime power, all veſſels that carry leſs than ſixty-four guns are eſteemed frigates: while the French ſhips above forty, and the Engliſh above fifty, are ranked as ſhips of the line.

The practice of preſerving ſhips under cover, in dry docks, has its advantages. Ships may in this manner be preſerved during a long courſe of years: whereas thoſe that lie in water require repair in ſixteen or twenty years: after which, in ten years' time, they are improper either for long voyages or the ſervice of war. But this practice has likewiſe its diſadvantages. A ſhip that has once been to ſea muſt not afterward be laid up in a dry dock. If it were, the wood would ſhrink and it would leak when launched into the water again. Neither is it poſſible to judge properly of a veſſel that has never been in uſe; and, as

a rider ſhould know his horſe and a colonel his regiment, ſo ſhould the ſailors, officers, and admirals, know the qualities of a ſhip.

The mechaniſm of a ſhip is ſo multifarious, an inconſiderable defect in its proportions operates ſo ſtrongly, the materials of which it is built are ſo numerous, and their qualities are ſo different, that it is exceedingly difficult for the moſt ſcientific ſhip-builder accurately to determine concerning the imperfections of the machine, till experience has taught what they are and how they may be rectified. The late King of Sweden at a great expence cauſed docks * for new ſhips to be cut in the rock at Carlſcrone. A grand work: but I doubt whether the maritime powers will follow the example. The rule in Venice is to lay a new ſhip on the ſtocks, as ſoon as one of thoſe laid up puts to ſea; and I am aſſured that there are now ten ſhips of the line at ſea. The Republic therefore poſſeſſes twenty-eight ſhips of the line, that carry from ſixty-four to eighty

* *Schauer.* From the context, I think this muſt be the meaning of the word: though I do not poſſeſs, nor do I know where to procure, a German Marine Dictionary. T.

guns.

guns. A formidable fleet; if it be well manned, and well commanded.

Here likewiſe they have galleys, cutters, ſchooners, bomb-ketches, and ſmaller veſſels; and with the reſt the ſuperb *Bucentoro*, on board of which the Doge annually goes to ſea, and marries the Adriatic: in commemoration of the victory obtained by the Venetians, under the command of their Doge Sebaſtiano Ziani, in the year 1177, over the Emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa; when Pope Alexander the Third fled from him, and took refuge in Venice. The conqueror, Ziani, made his public entry on Aſcenſion Day; leading Otho, the Emperor's ſon, priſoner; and having captured forty-eight ſhips: among which, according to a Venetian hiſtorian, was the Imperial galley. The Pope went to meet the Doge on the ſhore, gave him his ring, and commanded him to caſt it into the ſea: by which it ſhould be ſubjected to all ſucceeding Doges, as the wife is to her huſband.

The *Bucentoro* is magnificently embelliſhed with carving and gilding: but, as it is annually launched into the water, and then laid up again in the dock, ſhort as the voyage it makes

makes is, it generally needs repairing every year.

About twenty miles ſouth of Venice, the Republic has nearly completed an undertaking which is ſcarcely inferior to the greateſt works of ancient Rome. A high wall, or pier, of large ſtones is built, on a ſmall cape; the purpoſe of which is to protect the ſhallow waters that ſurround the ſeventy-two iſlands, on which the city is built, and many others that are ſeen ſcattered around, againſt the wild waves of the Adriatic. To reſiſt theſe, the wall is conſtructed upon two diſtinct terraces of marble; each of which is nine paces broad. The ſmalleſt of theſe terraces, which conſiſts of four ſteps, is oppoſed to the inner waters, which are called *La Laguna.* The joints of the ſtone, after the manner of the ancient Roman buildings, are all filled with a mixture of lime and puzzolana. This latter material is brought from Mount Veſuvius.

On the wall is the following inſcription:

Ut ſacra æſtuaria, Urbis et Libertatis ſedes, perpetuum conſerventur, coloſſeas moles ex ſolido marmore contra mare poſuere Curatores Aquarum.

Anno ſalutis MDCCLI.

Ab urbe condita MCCCXXX.

" The

" The Conſervators of the Waters have erected this co-
" loſſal rampart of ſolid marble, to oppoſe the ſea and
" for ever preſerve the ſacred ſhallows, the ſeat of
" the City, and of Freedom.

" In the year of redemption MDCCLI;
" From the founding of the city, MCCCXXX."

I meaſured the length of this ſtone pier, as far as it is completed; and counted three thouſand ſix hundred and twenty paces, or ſteps.

I ſhall be accuſed as a heretic, by many, if I ſpeak my opinion of the painters of the Venetian ſchool. Titian, Paul Veroneſe, Tintorett, Baſſano, and others, are great names in the annals of the art. No painter has ſo well expreſſed the deceptive colouring of life, or the ſoft carnations of the human body ſo inimitably, as Titian. Art is certainly much indebted to the Venetian ſchool: and the longer young painters remain here the more they may learn. The art of painting itſelf is indeed of ſo fugitive a nature, and ſo difficult to ſeize, that it includes in itſelf many arts, and many kinds of talent. Still I inſiſt that the pictures by the Venetian maſters, which I had previouſly ſeen ſcattered through many parts of Italy, while they excited my admiration, left my feelings cold. In Venice,

I have

I have ſeen their maſter pieces, in the palace of the Doge and the church of *Madonna della Salute:* yet theſe maſterpieces left me with the ſame ſenſations; and, engaged as I have been by other objects, I have forborne to viſit many more of their pictures in different churches and palaces. All that colouring has hitherto attained I willingly grant they poſſeſs: but not the lovelineſs of Guido, not the comic humour of the Flemiſh painters, not the daring ſtrokes of the Caracci, not the ſtrength of Guercino. And yet how far even are theſe painters of the Bologneſe ſchool, at leaſt in my opinion, below Correggio, Dominichino, Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, (of whoſe powers no man ought to judge, who has not ſeen the *Capella Siſtina* at Rome) and he who ſtands alone, the immortal Raphael!

Dare I avow it? Yet why not? I am no connoiſſeur; and he to whom art is an affair of conſequence will conſider my opinion as of ſmall moment. I therefore do avow that the Venetian painters appear to me to have attained all that mere art, all that talent can beſtow: but that they have never yet ſet foot on the boundaries of genius.

Theſe boundaries have been entered with a firm

firm ſtep by the lovely Poeteſs, who lived here many years, and who lately died, the Counteſs of Roſenberg. England gave her birth, a German his name, and Italy her finiſhing education. Was it native humour that inſpired thoſe flowing ideas, thoſe delightful ſenſations, which were neither Engliſh, German, nor Italian? The French language was the inſtrument ſhe choſe; the limited powers of which may ſuffice for the witling, but ſink under the man of genius, and utter diſcord if tuned to ſenſibility *. But her art was enchanting; for, even in this language, ſhe fluently expreſſed her beautiful and poetical thoughts. In deſcribing the manners of a people but little known to us, *Les Morlaques*, ſhe painted the fine feelings of her own ſoul. A national feſtival of the Venetians afforded her materials for a charming narrative; in which, with the moſt lively touches, ſhe repreſented the manners of the Gondoliers: a peculiar claſs of people, which are and can be only known to Venice. Bürde, the tranſlator of Paradiſe Loſt, an excellent lyric poet, has elegantly tranſlated her firſt work into German:

* I am ſorry to ſay theſe remarks are as illiberal as they are unjuſt. T.

but

but this work is not ſo much known as it deſerves to be. We pant after the literary novelties of France. The Barber of Seville, and the Marriage of Figaro, have been performed inceſſantly on the German ſtage; and the petty ſenſations of the heartleſs Genlis* are in the hands of every mother of a family: while the witty and feeling writings of Roſenberg are almoſt unknown.

The population of this city is eſtimated at a hundred and ſixty thouſand ſouls; and the number of people in the whole territories of the Republic at two millions and a half. In proportion to a population ſo great as this, the government maintains but few ſoldiers: I met with none in the city. Neither the citizens nor the peaſants are forbidden the uſe of arms: a certain token that the government is mild, and the ſubject contented.

It grieves me that I have not ſeen the mountainous diſtricts of this country; and that I have nothing to tell you of the cities of Vicenza, Verona, Bergamo, and Breſcia. It was againſt my will that I did not viſit Mantua, the birth place of Virgil; and that I re-

* Here alſo the Author is both unjuſt and illiberal. T.

nounced a journey through the mountains of Tyrol: but the ſeaſon of the year demands expedition, which the deſire of once more viſiting our friends and our fire-ſide increaſes.

LETTER CV.

Vienna, 2d November 1792.

WE left Venice on the 26th, and were rowed through a canal over to Meſtre. From this we ſoon came to the country of Treviſo; the capital of the Venetian province of *Marca di Treviſo*, and the native place of Totila, the King of the Goths. The town contains about twenty thouſand inhabitants; and the province, like that of Friuli, is flat, fruitful, and well cultivated. We met with buckwheat in fields which no doubt had previouſly afforded one harveſt. This plant, ſo common to the north of Germany, I found in the botanic gardens of the ſouth of Italy, and in Sicily. From Meſtre, the mountains of the

the north-weſt provinces of Venice, which extend to the ridge of the mountains of Carniola, may be ſeen.

On the evening of the 27th, we reached the German boundaries between Udine, the chief town of the Venetian Friuli; and the fortreſs of Gradiſca, which lies in Auſtrian Friuli; though the Italian language is there ſpoken. This language ceaſes before the German begins. The chief part of Carniola, through which we travelled, is inhabited by Vandals; whoſe Sclavonic dialect is entirely unintelligible to Germans, ſo that we could not converſe with the men whom we firſt met with in Germany. The landlords however ſpoke our language. The people are the deſcendants of Vandals, who reſemble the inhabitants that live in ſcattered hamlets throughout Luſatia and Mecklenburg.

Theſe common traces of their origin would have diſappeared, to the advantage of the Vandals, had not a ſtate of vaſſalage oppreſſed them in Germany and Italy; from which they were firſt relieved in this province, as well as in Bohemia, by Joſeph the Second. The Sclavonian tribes have for ages been ſo bowed

down, by the yoke of ſlavery, that time is required to make them reſemble free men.

The country is charming, diverſified with mountainous parts, fertile, and well cultivated. In the ſmall towns, proſperity is viſible: eſpecially in Laubach, the chief place of the province.

The horned cattle are very ſmall: but the horſes are large, and ſtrong. The duchy of Stiria I think is ſtill better cultivated: the inhabitants of which, though they rather reſemble the people of Germany than of Carniola, are yet very diſtinctly divided into Vandals and Germans; the numbers of the latter being far the moſt conſiderable. The country is pleaſant: the mountains are clothed with oaks, beech trees, and pines. Every kind of grain is well cultivated; and the white wine is very pleaſant.

The people are not unfriendly: but we had been ſo accuſtomed to the animation of the Italians that they appeared tedious, and dull. We found a want too of the expeditious mode of travelling in Italy. The poſt-houſes, of Carniola and Stiria, are not well provided with horſes. Theſe countries however are beautiful;

beautiful; and, from the ſhady mountains, you look down on fruitful valleys, watered by brooks and rivers. Induſtry and proſperity appear to enliven the land: the inns are good, and the heart is rejoiced again to meet with German cleanlineſs. The towns and villages of Stiria are well built; and the peaſants have better habitations than the Vandals of Carniola. The people ſeem to take a lively part in the war againſt the French. I met with a cheerful woman, at the houſe of the toll-taker, in Auſtrian Friuli, who had a little boy in her arms; and who, with maternal pride, gave me the hiſtory of her ſon, twenty years of age, who though ſo young had made two campaigns againſt the Turks; and now a lieutenant, in a regiment of horſe, had marched to fight the French.

The farther we went in Stiria the more pleaſant the country became. A conſiderable mountain, called Semmering, ſeparates this province from Auſtria Proper: the firſt aſpect of which, from the mountain, is delightful in the charms of wild nature. Soon afterward, the country becomes flat, is well tilled, and the towns have a good appearance. The inns are well ſupplied, the people attentive,

and the travelling by poſt is here excellent. We arrived at Vienna this forenoon.

LETTER CVI.

Vienna, 15th December 1792.

ALTHOUGH I have been ſix weeks in this great city, I have not yet ſufficiently examined the many remarkable things it contains to afford you any ſatisfactory account of them. My afternoons and evenings are conſumed in the charms of ſociety; and I dedicate the forepart of the day either to renewing my acquaintance, with perſons whom I have formerly known elſewhere, in and out of Germany, or to the forming new connections: ſome of which I find very intereſting.

You know my averſion to being hurried away in the whirlpool of faſhionable life: however I have no where met with ſo little conſtraint, among the great, as in this metropolis. The old and the young, who in other great cities of Germany, while they ſo frequently

quently assemble in the same chamber, appear to hold themselves distant and distinct from each other, here confidentially converse together; and thus communicate a tone of variety and animation, and a charm to social intercourse which render it delightful. Not all modelled by the same rules, not equally stiff and strait laced, by which the human character is so frequently degraded, and which repetition renders so disgusting, you here meet with people of different propensities, who therefore have greater powers of entertaining. The women are lively and pleasant; and grave statesmen and rough warriors listen to them with delight. Neither is gaming, which in other cities is the gulph of all the affections and passions, here the only employment of society.

Strangers are welcomed with amenity; and with an air that shews the heart and the lips are not at variance. If a stranger be introduced to certain families, he is neither obliged to yawn with the tedious glutton, nor administer to the avarice of a rapacious card party. His host, on the contrary, endeavours to sound his affections, heighten his pleasures, and receive him with that unaffected

hoſpitality which renders his ſtay agreeable; and his endeavours are uſually ſucceſsful.

I became acquainted at the Imperial library with the Abbé Denis; who, ardently in love with the Muſe, poſſeſſes her favours. We deſire to find both the man and the poet ardent, yet kind; gentle, yet dignified; and we are rejoiced to ſee our hopes confirmed. As librarian, he is at preſent employed in writing a commentary on the rich collection of manuſcripts the library poſſeſſes; and his labours give him delight. He will publiſh many literary diſcoveries, and detect many errors; but without dipping his pen in gall: though a critic, he will preſerve the character of a worthy man.

In the hall of the Imperial library, which is very grand, we are glad to meet the entire collection of books made by the great Eugene: the hero who, beſide poſſeſſing the talents of the warrior and the ſtateſman, had acquired great and various knowledge.

The cabinet of natural hiſtory, in minerals and petrifactions, connoiſſeurs affirm is inferior to none in Europe. My entire ignorance of natural hiſtory, a ſcience as intereſting as it is extenſive, will not permit me to entertain

you

you with an account of the riches of this collection.

This ignorance equally forbids me to say all I could wish of the green-house at *Schönbrunn*, which I have visited with so much satisfaction. Persons who have been in England assure me that green-houses are no where so lofty as this is; and that therefore the great southern plants do not flourish any where in Europe in so much beauty as at *Schönbrunn:* where you walk under large East and West India palms of different species, the great helicon *, the mahogany cedar, the mimosa, sugar-canes, and bamboos. Schönbrunn is richer than Kew in plants from the Cape, the *Isle de France*, and the *Isle de Bourbon;* but not so well stocked with North American plants, most of which in England grow in the open air: which is so changeable in the country round Vienna as to be prejudicial to them. Mr. Von Bose, to whose immediate inspection the botanic garden is committed, has travelled six years in both the Indies, and through different parts of Africa. He has left an experienced gardener at the Cape, who annually sends him either new plants or seeds.

* *Heliconien:* probably the *helicteres*. T.

Other

Other gardeners are now ſtationed at other places. Various unknown plants have been produced, by the ſeeds thus procured; and a week ſeldom paſſes in which diſcoveries of plants and flowers are not made. We ſaw ſome rare water plants in bloom.

The celebrated Meſſieurs Jacquin, father and ſon, have the chief ſuperintendance of the botanic garden at Schönbrunn; and have a little garden, where they live, in one of the ſuburbs of Vienna. As ſoon as a new plant blows at Schönbrunn, it is brought to them; and artiſts are employed, by whom it is painted. Theſe artiſts likewiſe paint ſuch flowers at Schönbrunn which are too tender to be removed, without danger in winter, to Vienna.

The green-houſes at Schönbrunn are enlivened by the flight and the ſong of ſouthern birds; and, under the trees of their own country, we there ſee the beautiful ſhining red cardinal, which is likewiſe from its note called the Virginian nightingale, the rice bird *, the ruby-beak †, and others of variegated plumage, with the names of which I am unacquainted. A pair of the ſmall parrot ſpecies ſat

* *Reiſſvögel.* † *Rubinenſchnäbel.*

lovingly on a bough, and, for the tenderneſs of their affection, they have been called the Inſeparables.

For the perfection of this botanic garden and its hot-houſes, we are indebted to Joſeph the Second. Leopold promoted what his predeceſſor had begun; and Francis the Second continued the ſame expence.

Some inſtitutions in Vienna have likewiſe partly been founded and partly improved by Joſeph the Second. The ſick are better attended in the hoſpitals; and regularity, induſtry, health, and cheerfulneſs, animate the children of the orphan-houſe. The *Narrenthurm* *, or Mad-houſe, is a remarkable inſtitution; large, circular, and five ſtories high. There is a paſſage, at the ſide of which the cells are built, with lattice doors; through which you may look. Thoſe lunatics who have no raving fits are allowed to walk here, and in the court below. This court however is ſmall; and a more open place, planted with trees, would no doubt be more beneficial to thoſe patients whoſe lunacy is of a melancholy kind. There are keepers to each ſtory. The patients are not allowed to be treated

* Literally, Idiots' Tower. T.

with

with cruelty: they have good beds, and thoſe whoſe rage might be excited by viſitors are not permitted to be ſeen, but are excluded from the eye of curioſity by a door. At the top of the building, there is a ſmall round balcony; from which you have an open proſpect over the country and city. Joſeph the Second, who frequently viſited his own inſtitutions, has ſeveral times mounted to this balcony.

The Orphan-houſe, which is a large and well-regulated building, contains three hundred and forty-ſix children. The boys are inſtructed ſix hours each day; and the girls, whoſe number now only extends to ſeventy, are obliged to take care of their linen and waſhing. The children are healthy, well-behaved, and cheerful. The boys and girls have two diſtinct gardens; and are not allowed to be together except at church.

The Imperial Picture Gallery is near the city, in the Belvedere palace; which was inhabited by the great Eugene. This gallery is particularly rich in paintings of the Flemiſh and Dutch ſchools; and there are alſo many pictures ſhewn that bear the names of the moſt famous Italian maſters, though I confeſs

that few of them appear to be originals. I was delighted to find here the beautiful Holy Family of Raphael; a copy of which we had before ſeen at Milan. The original poſſeſſes beauties which the excellent copy, freſh and lively as its colours have been preſerved, cannot equal.

In the gallery of the Prince of Lichtenſtein, which is affirmed to be one of the richeſt collections poſſeſſed by any private man in Europe, we ſaw ſome excellent paintings. There are portraits in both galleries by Chriſtian Seibolt, a painter who lived in Vienna under the reign of Maria Thereſa, the deception of which is inimitable. His own portrait, painted by himſelf, is in my opinion more excellent than the reſt; and is in the Lichtenſtein Gallery. A magnifying glaſs lies beſide it: through which thoſe who look are aſtoniſhed at the new perfections they diſcover. His unwearied aſſiduity was accompanied by a noble freedom of hand. The picture appears to live; and the animated glance, even in the moiſture of the eye, poſſeſſes undeſcribable truth.

Seibolt had much of the caprice of the artiſt; which he even exerciſed on the great and

and good Maria Thereſa. This caprice, if I am not miſtaken, more frequently accompanied the men of talents among the Flemiſh and Dutch artiſts than among the Italian; and, when thus combined with talent, it gives delight to many: but not to me. I conſider it as the mark of a diſcordant character. It did not, it could not obtrude itſelf upon Raphael: it was beneath him. Had he not poſſeſſed pure and dignified harmony of character he could not have been Raphael. Agitated by the caprice of ſelf-ſufficiency, the artiſt often communicates this feeling to his works: while the more noble-minded man, more enflamed by the love of excellence than by ambition, is always leſs attentive to the much he has done than to the much more that he has to do. He deeply feels how far he is below that ideal perfection to which he aſpires.

The circumference of that which is properly the fortified city of Vienna is not large, and only contains about ſixty thouſand ſouls: but the ſuburbs are therefore the more ample; and, according to an eſtimate of the preſent year, the city and the ſuburbs together contain two hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants. In the city itſelf there are numerous and beautiful

beautiful palaces: but the ſtreets are not ſpacious, and are in part crooked. Thoſe people of faſhion who have no country ſeats, or who are prevented by their public employments from leaving Vienna, generally reſide in the ſuburbs during ſummer.

The country round Vienna is very pleaſant; but this city in the winter ſeaſon is frequently viſited by dreadful ſtorms, which ruſh through the openings of the neighbouring mountains.

LETTER CVII.

Dreſden, 31ſt December 1792.

WE left Vienna on the 19th of December, and were overtaken by ſo violent a ſtorm on the great bridge, over the Danube, which is about three quarters of a league from Vienna, that we were obliged to take ſhelter under the baluſtrade, or the carriage would have been overturned by the wind. This was felt over all Germany, and even in Denmark;

mark; and many houſes were unroofed, and trees blown down, by its impetuous guſts.

The Danube here is very broad; and the country round is well wooded, and highly beautiful. The ſmall ſtretch of country that includes parts of Auſtria and Moravia, through which we travelled on our journey from Vienna to Bohemia, and the country of Bohemia itſelf, are fertile and well cultivated. The appearance of the villages, and little towns, denotes the proſperity of the inhabitants.

In the north of Germany, the people cheriſh many groundleſs prejudices againſt the ſouthern provinces. In the latter the inhabitants are induſtrious, and friendly. The roads through the Imperial States are, generally ſpeaking, excellent: the poſt-houſes are well provided with horſes, and the inns are much better than in the circles of Upper and Lower Saxony and of Weſtphalia. The habitations of the country people likewiſe are cheerful, and ſurrounded with gardens; which are ornamented with numerous fruit trees. The beſt apples of Germany, which are called *Borſtorfer*, after a village of Saxony, are the produce of Bohemia as well as of the province from

from which they take their name.——I met with vineyards in the ſouth of Bohemia, in which the plants are not ſunk under the earth *: but they were all very weak, and were the ſprouts of the year. They are treated here, in defiance of the climate of Germany, as in Apulia and Sicily: except that, in the ſouthern countries, they trim the young ſprouts during the winter ſeaſon; but in Bohemia they remain frozen on the ground, and are not cut till the ſpring.

I have no where ſeen partridges and hares in ſuch great numbers as in Bohemia: yet they are not rigorouſly preſerved. Bohemia ſwarms with poachers. Almoſt every peaſant carries a gun: for veniſon and game are exceedingly plentiful, and the penalties annexed to this illegal practice are not heavy. This country ſupplies the Imperial army with its moſt expert markſmen. I am told that no one will be received in the corps of rifle-men who has not, at the diſtance of two hundred

* The text is—*in welchen die reben nicht unter die erde geſenkt waren.* This I ſuppoſe relates to ſome mode of cultivation; or of ſheltering the grape in cold climates. T.

paces, hit the black mark in the centre once, at leaſt, in the three firſt ſhots.

We arrived on the 24th at Prague; which in part is a handſomely built city. Modern embelliſhments and antique magnificence, both in the Bohemian taſte, are combined in this metropolis of the kingdom. It is divided into two parts by the river Muldau; and the great bridge over this river would be beautiful, if the numerous ſtatues which are placed there were, as they are intended to be, a worthy ornament. Some iſlands and the high banks would add charms to the proſpect, were they ſhaded with trees. On this ſide of Prague the country is mountainous and well-wooded.

At Lowoſitz, we arrived at the Elbe; the windings of which we had ſeen from Kolin, on the other ſide of Prague.

We ſaw a man who was born blind at Kolin, and who played on the harpſichord. He poſſeſſed information on various ſubjects; and ſaid that he could by feeling form an idea, after his manner, of the human figure: but that he had no conception of the figure of a houſe.

Kolin, Prague, Lowoſitz, and the ſight of theſe

theſe places, gave me a lively recollection of the ſeven years war; and of the occurrences in which, animated by the war-ſongs of our immortal Gleims, I and my brothers and ſiſters took ſo zealous a part, during the ſports of our childhood. While my eldeſt ſiſter repreſented the dignified Empreſs, Maria Thereſa, I and my brother fought a ſerious and deciſive battle, to know whether he or I ſhould perſonate Frederic of Pruſſia. The conquered was to be the repreſentative of Field Marſhal Daun. So much did the right of the ſtrongeſt prevail that my younger ſiſters had no choice, whether they ſhould act as the Empreſs, Elizabeth of Ruſſia, or ſhould head the army of the Empire, that of the Swedes, or that of France.

From Lowoſitz to Auſig we journeyed beſide the Elbe, among rocks; between which the road was ſo narrow that, in many places, two carriages could not paſs each other. The beauties of the river were heightened by woody hills, on the oppoſite bank; among which large villages are ſituated. The light of the full moon, and the dazzling ſnow, gave a charm to this proſpect; by which no man

could remain unaffected, who had not loſt all ſenſe of the delights of nature in winter.

On the 27th, we travelled along bad roads, but through pleaſant countries, over the mountains which ſeparate Bohemia from Saxony; and arrived in the evening at Dreſden.

I ſhall leave this city to-day, the 31ſt, in the afternoon; without again examining any of its curioſities, which I had twice ſome years ago ſeen, and had ſo much admired. On the preſent occaſion, I had buſineſs, and wanted leiſure. I did not even viſit the picture gallery, which is beyond compariſon the firſt in Germany; and, if I do not miſtake, may claim precedence over every individual gallery in Italy. The cities indeed of Florence, Bologna, and Genoa, are richer than Dreſden in the beautiful productions of the pencil. But in this reſpect, where is the place that can compare to Rome? Yet neither in the three firſt cities, nor in Rome itſelf, are there ſo much variety and excellence to be found in any ſingle collection.

Dreſden has always appeared to me to be the fineſt city in Germany; and its ſituation and

and ſurrounding country are uncommonly charming. The great bridge over the Elbe, and the terrace of the garden of Count Bruhl, afford pleaſant walks and proſpects even within the city; and ſuch as do not yield to any that our country affords, except to the grand views on the banks of the Rhine.

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